M. TULLII CICERONIS
CATO MAJOR, LÆLIUS, ET BRUTUS

CICERO'S DIALOGUES
ON OLD AGE, FRIENDSHIP, AND FAMOUS ORATORS

WITH ENGLISH NOTES

By W. BROWNRIGG SMITH, M.A.
LATE SCHOLAR OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

For the Use of Schools and Colleges

LONDON
LOCKWOOD & CO., 7, STATIONERS' HALL COURT
LUDGATE HILL
1875

ADVERTISEMENT.

In editing the three Treatises of Cicero contained in this volume, I have followed the text of Madvig for the first and second, and that of Jahn for the third. With regard to the Notes, I should wish to acknowledge the great assistance I have derived from the German Commentaries of Sommerbrodt, Nauck, and Jahn, and from Dr. W. Smith's valuable Dictionaries.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

DE SENECTUTE, DE AMICITIA, DE CLARIS ORATORIBUS DIALOGI.

CATO MAJOR SEU DE SENECTUTE AD T. POMPONIUM ATTICUM.

I.

1. O Tite, si quid ego adjûro, curamve levasso,
Quæ nunc te coquit et versat, in pectora fixa,
Ecquid erit præmi?

Licet enim versibus eisdem mihi affari te, Attice, quibus affatur Flamininum

Ille vir, haud magna cum re, sed plenu' fidei.

Quanquam certo scio, non, ut Flamininum,

Sollicitari te, Tite, sic noctesque diesque.

Novi enim moderationem animi tui et æquitatem, teque non cognomen solum Athenis deportasse, sed humanitatem et prudentiam intelligo. Et tamen te suspicor eisdem rebus, quibus meipsum, interdum gravius commoveri: quarum consolatio et major est, et in aliud tempus differenda. Nunc autem mihi visum est de Senectute aliquid ad te conscribere. 2. Hoc enim onere, quod mihi tecum commune est, aut jam urgentis aut certe adventantis senectutis, et te et meipsum levari volo. Etsi te quidem id modice ac sapienter, sicut omnia, et ferre et laturum esse certo scio. Sed mihi, quum de senectute aliquid vellem scribere, tu occurrebas dignus eo munere, quo uterque nostrum communiter uteretur. Mihi quidem ita jucunda hujus libri confectio fuit, ut non modo omnes absterserit senectutis

molestias, sed effecerit mollem etiam et jucundam senectutem. Nunquam igitur satis laudari digne poterit philosophia, cui qui pareat, omne tempus ætatis sine molestia possit degere. 3. Sed de ceteris et diximus multa, et sæpe dicemus: hunc librum de senectute ad te misimus. Omnem autem sermonem tribuimus non Tithono, ut Aristo Chius (parum enim esset auctoritatis in fabula), sed M. Catoni seni, quo majorem auctoritatem haberet oratio; apud quem Lælium et Scipionem facimus admirantes, quod is tam facile senectutem ferat, iisque eum respondentem. Qui si eruditius videbitur disputare, quam consuevit ipse in suis libris, attribuito litteris Græcis, quarum constat eum perstudiosum fuisse in senectute. Sed quid opus est plura? Jam enim ipsius Catonis sermo explicabit nostram omnem de senectute sententiam.

II. 4. Scipio. Sæpenumero admirari soleo cum hoc C. Lælio, quum ceterarum rerum tuam excellentem, M. Cato, perfectamque sapientiam, tum vel maxime, quod nunquam senectutem tibi gravem esse senserim; quæ plerisque senibus sic odiosa est, ut onus se Ætna gravius dicant sustinere. Cato. Rem haud sane, Scipio et Læli, difficilem admirari videmini. Quibus enim nihil est in ipsis opis ad bene beateque vivendum, iis omnis ætas gravis est: qui autem omnia bona a se ipsis petunt, iis nihil potest malum videri, quod naturæ necessitas afferat. Quo in genere est in primis senectus; quam ut adipiscantur, omnes optant; eandem accusant adeptam: tanta est stultitiæ inconstantia, atque perversitas. Obrepere, aiunt, eam citius quam putassent. Primum, quis coegit eos falsum putare? Quî enim citius adolescentiæ senectus, quam pueritiæ adolescentia obrepit? Deinde, quî minus gravis esset iis senectus, si octingentesimum annum agerent, quam si octogesimum? Præterita enim ætas, quamvis longa, quum effluxisset, nulla consolatione permulcere posset stultam senectutem. 5. Quocirca si sapientiam meam admirari soletis (quæ utinam digna esset opinione vestra nostroque cognomine!), in hoc sumus sapientes, quod naturam optimam ducem, tanquam Deum, sequimur, eique paremus: a qua, non veri simile est, quum ceteræ partes ætatis bene descriptæ sint, extremum actum, tanquam ab inerti poëta, esse neglectum. Sed tamen necesse fuit esse aliquid extremum, et, tanquam in arborum baccis terræque fructibus, maturitate tempestiva quasi vietum et caducum: quod ferendum est molliter sapienti. Quid est enim aliud Gigantum modo bellare cum Diis, nisi naturæ repugnare? 6. Lælius. Atqui, Cato, gratissimum nobis, ut

etiam pro Scipione pollicear, feceris, si, quoniam speramus, volumus quidem certe, senes fieri, multo ante a te didicerimus, quibus facillime rationibus ingravescentem aetatem ferre possimus. CATO. Faciam vero, Laeli; praesertim si utrique vestrum, ut dicis, gratum futurum est. LAELIUS. Volumus sane, nisi molestum est, Cato, tanquam aliquam viam longam confeceris, quam nobis quoque ingrediendum sit, istuc, quo pervenisti, videre, quale sit.

III. 7. CATO. Faciam, ut potero, Laeli. Saepe enim interfui querelis aequalium meorum, (pares autem, vetere proverbio, cum paribus, facillime congregantur,) quae C. Salinator, quae Sp. Albinus, homines consulares, nostri fere aequales, deplorare solebant; tum quod voluptatibus carerent, sine quibus vitam nullam putarent; tum quod spernerenter ab iis, a quibus essent coli soliti. Qui mihi non id videbantur accusare, quod esset accusandum. Nam si id culpa senectutis accideret, eadem mihi usu venirent, reliquisque omnibus majoribus natu; quorum ego multorum cognovi senectutem sine querela; qui se et libidinum vinculis laxatos esse non moleste ferrent, nec a suis despicerentur. Sed omnium istiusmodi querelarum in moribus est culpa, non in aetate. Moderati enim et nec difficiles nec inhumani senes tolerabilem senectutem agunt; importunitas autem et inhumanitas omni aetati molesta est. 8. LAELIUS. Est, ut dicis, Cato. Sed fortasse dixerit quispiam, tibi propter opes et copias et dignitatem tuam tolerabiliorem senectutem videri; id autem non posse multis contingere. CATO. Est istuc quidem, Laeli, aliquid; sed nequaquam in isto omnia: ut Themistocles fertur Seriphio cuidam in jurgio respondisse, quum ille dixisset, non eum sua, sed patriae gloria splendorem assecutum: *Nec hercule*, inquit, *si ego Seriphius essem,* [*nobilis,*] *nec tu, si Atheniensis esse, clarus unquam fuisses.* Quod eodem modo de senectute dici potest. Nec enim in summa inopia levis esse senectus potest, ne sapienti quidem: nec insipienti etiam in summa copia non gravis. 9. Aptissima omnino sunt, Scipio et Laeli, arma senectutis artes exercitationesque virtutum, quae, in omni aetate cultae, quum diu multumque vixeris, mirificos efferunt fructus, non solum quia nunquam deserunt, ne in extremo quidem tempore aetatis, (quanquam id quidem maximum est,) verum etiam, quia conscientia bene actae vitae multorumque bene factorum recordatio jucundissima est.

IV. 10. Ego Q. Maximum, eum, qui Tarentum recepit, senem adolescens ita dilexi, ut aequalem. Erat enim in illo

viro comitate condita gravitas; nec senectus mores m verat. Quanquam eum colere cœpi non admodum gran natu, sed tamen jam ætate provectum. Anno enim Consul primum fuerat, quam ego natus sum; cumque quartum Consule adolescentulus miles ad Capuam profe sum, quintoque anno post ad Tarentum. Quæstor de quadriennio post factus sum; quem magistratum gessi sulibus Tuditano et Cethego, quum quidem ille, admo senex, suasor legis Cinciæ de donis et muneribus fuit. et bella gerebat, ut adolescens, quum plane grandis esset et Hannibalem juveniliter exsultantem patientiā suā molliebat, de quo præclare familiaris noster Ennius:

> Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem;
> Non enim rumores ponebat ante salutem.
> Ergo postque magisque viri nunc gloria claret.

11. Tarentum vero qua vigilantia, quo consilio recepit! quidem, me audiente, Salinatori, qui, amisso oppido, fugerat arcem, glorianti atque ita dicenti: *Mea opera, Q. Fabi, Ta tum recepisti*; "*Certe*, inquit ridens; *nam nisi tu amisis nunquam recepissem.*" Nec vero in armis præstantior, q in toga; qui Consul iterum, Sp. Carvilio collega quiesce C. Flaminio, Tribuno plebis, quoad potuit, restitit, ag Picentem et Gallicum viritim contra Senatus auctorita dividenti; augurque quum esset, dicere ausus est, opt auspiciis ea geri, quæ pro reipublicæ salute gererentur; q contra rempublicam ferrentur, contra auspicia ferri. 12. M in eo viro præclara cognovi: sed nihil est admirabilius, qu quomodo ille mortem filii tulit, clari viri et consularis. Est manibus laudatio; quam quum legimus, quem philosoph non contemnimus! Nec vero ille in luce modo atque in oc civium magnus, sed intus domique præstantior. Qui serm quæ præcepta! quanta notitia antiquitatis! quæ scientia j augurii! Multæ etiam, ut in homine Romano, litteræ. Om memoria tenebat, non domestica solum, sed etiam externa bel Cujus sermone ita tum cupide fruebar, quasi jam divinarem quod evenit, illo exstincto, fore, unde discerem, neminem.

V. 13. Quorsum igitur hæc tam multa de Maximo? Q profecto videtis, nefas esse dictu, miseram fuisse talem sene tem. Nec tamen omnes possunt esse Scipiones aut Maximi, urbium expugnationes, ut pedestres navalesve pugnas, ut b a se gesta, ut triumphos recordentur. Est etiam quiete et p atque eleganter actæ ætatis placida ac lenis senectus: qua

accepimus Platonis, qui uno et octogesimo anno scribens est mortuus; qualem Isocratis, qui eum librum, qui Panathenaicus inscribitur, quarto et nonagesimo anno scripsisse se dicit, vixitque quinquennium postea; cujus magister Leontinus Gorgias centum et septem complevit annos; neque unquam in suo studio atque opere cessavit. Qui, quum ex eo quæreretur, cur tamdiu vellet esse in vita: *nihil habeo*, inquit, *quod accusem senectutem.* Præclarum responsum et docto homine dignum! 14. Sua enim vitia insipientes et suam culpam in senectutem conferunt. Quod non faciebat is, cujus modo mentionem feci, Ennius:

> Sicut fortis equus, spatio qui sæpe supremo
> Vicit Olympia, nunc senio confectu' quiescit.

Equi fortis et victoris senectuti comparat suam. Quem quidem probe meminisse potestis. Anno enim undevicesimo post ejus mortem hi Consules, T. Flamininus et M'. Acilius, facti sunt; ille autem Cæpione, et Philippo iterum, Consulibus mortuus est: quum ego quidem, v et LX annos natus, legem Voconiam magna voce et bonis lateribus suasissem. Annos LXX natus (tot enim vixit Ennius), ita ferebat duo, quæ maxima putantur, onera, paupertatem et senectutem, ut eis pæne delectari videretur. 15. Etenim, quum contemplor animo, quattuor reperio causas, cur senectus misera videatur: unam, quod avocet a rebus gerendis; alteram, quod corpus faciat infirmius; tertiam, quod privet omnibus fere voluptatibus; quartam, quod haud procul absit a morte. Earum, si placet, causarum quanta quamque sit justa unaquæque, videamus.

VI. A rebus gerendis senectus abstrahit? Quibus? An iis, quæ geruntur juventute et viribus? Nullæne igitur res sunt seniles, quæ, vel infirmis corporibus, animo tamen administrentur? Nihil ergo agebat Q. Maximus? nihil L. Paullus, pater tuus, Scipio, socer optimi viri, filii mei? Ceteri senes, Fabricii, Curii, Coruncanii, quum rem publicam consilio et auctoritate defendebant, nihil agebant? 16. Ad Appii Claudii senectutem accedebat etiam, ut cæcus esset; tamen is, quum sententia Senatus inclinaret ad pacem cum Pyrrho fœdusque faciendum, non dubitavit dicere illa, quæ versibus persecutus est Ennius:

> Quo vobis mentes, rectæ quæ stare solebant
> Antehac, dementes sese flexere viai?

ceteraque gravissime; notum enim vobis carmen est: et tamen ipsius Appii extat oratio. Atque hæc ille egit septem et decem

annis post alterum consulatum, quum inter duos consulatu anni decem interfluxissent, censorque ante consulatum sup- riorem fuisset ; ex quo intelligitur, Pyrrhi bello grandem sa fuisse : et tamen sic a patribus accepimus. 17. Nihil igitu afferunt, qui in re gerenda versari senectutem negant ; sim lesque sunt, ut si qui gubernatorem in navigando agere ni dicant, quum alii malos scandant, alii per foros cursent, a sentinam exhauriant, ille, clavum tenens, quietus sedeat puppi. Non facit ea, quæ juvenes ; at vero multo majora meliora facit. Non viribus aut velocitatibus aut celerita corporum res magnæ geruntur, sed consilio, auctoritate, se tentia ; quibus non modo non orbari, sed etiam augeri senect solet. 18. Nisi forte ego vobis, qui et miles et Tribunus e Legatus et Consul versatus sum in vario genere bellorum cessare nunc videor, quum bella non gero. At Senatui, qua sint gerenda, præscribo, et quomodo ; Karthagini, male j diu cogitanti, bellum multo ante denuntio ; de qua vereri n ante desinam, quam illam excisam esse cognovero. 19. Qu palmam utinam Dii immortales, Scipio, tibi reservent, ut reliquias persequare ! cujus a morte quintus hic et tricesin annus est : sed memoriam illius viri omnes excipient anni c quentes. Anno ante me Censorem mortuus est, x annis p meum consulatum, quum Consul iterum, me Consule, crea esset. Num igitur, si ad centesimum annum vixisset, sen tutis eum suæ pœniteret ? Nec enim excursione, nec sal nec eminus hastis aut cominus gladiis uteretur, sed consilio, ratione, sententia. Quæ nisi essent in senibus, non summum consilium majores nostri appellassent senatum. 20. Apu Lacedæmonios quidem ii, qui amplissimum magistratum gerun ut sunt, sic etiam nominantur senes. Quod si legere a audire voletis externa, maximas res publicas ab adolescentib labefactatas, a senibus sustentatas et restitutas reperietis.

Cedo, qui vestram rempublicam tantam amisistis tam cito ?

Sic enim percontantur, ut est in Nævii poëtæ Ludo. Respo dentur et alia, et hoc in primis :

Proveniebant oratores novi, stulti, adolescentuli.

Temeritas est videlicet florentis ætatis, prudentia senescentis.

VII. 21. At memoria minuitur. Credo, nisi eam exercea aut si sis natura tardior. Themistocles omnium civium pe ceperat nomina. Num igitur censetis, eum, quum ætate pr cessisset, qui Aristides esset, Lysimachum salutare solitum

Equidem non modo eos novi, qui sunt, sed eorum patres etiam et avos; nec, sepulcra legens, vereor, quod aiunt, ne memoriam perdam; his enim ipsis legendis in memoriam redeo mortuorum. Nec vero quenquam senum audivi oblitum, quo loco thesaurum obruisset. Omnia, quæ curant, meminerunt, vadimonia, constituta, qui sibi, cui ipsi debeant. 22. Quid jurisconsulti? quid pontifices? quid augures? quid philosophi senes? quam multa meminerunt! Manent ingenia senibus, modo permaneat studium et industria: nec ea solum in claris et honoratis viris, sed in vita etiam privata et quieta. Sophocles ad summam senectutem tragœdias fecit; quod propter studium quum rem negligere familiarem videretur, a filiis in judicium vocatus est, ut, quemadmodum nostro more male rem gerentibus patribus bonis interdici solet, sic illum, quasi desipientem, a re familiari removerent judices. Tum senex dicitur eam fabulam, quam in manibus habebat et proxime scripserat, Œdipum Coloneum, recitasse judicibus, quæsisseque, num illud carmen desipientis videretur. Quo recitato, sententiis judicum est liberatus. 23. Num igitur hunc, num Homerum, num Hesiodum, Simonidem, Stesichorum, num, quos ante dixi, Isocratem, Gorgiam, num philosophorum principes, Pythagoram, Democritum, num Platonem, num Xenocratem, num postea Zenonem, Cleanthem, aut eum, quem vos etiam vidistis Romæ, Diogenem Stoicum, coegit in suis studiis obmutescere senectus? an non in omnibus his studiorum agitatio vitæ æqualis fuit? 24. Age, ut ista divina studia omittamus, possum nominare ex agro Sabino rusticos Romanos, vicinos et familiares meos, quibus absentibus, nunquam fere ulla in agro majora opera fiunt, non serendis, non percipiendis, non condendis fructibus. Quanquam in aliis minus hoc mirum est. Nemo enim est tam senex, qui se annum non putet posse vivere; sed iidem in eis elaborant, quæ sciunt nihil ad se omnino pertinere:

> Serit arbores, quæ sæclo prosint alteri,

ut ait Statius noster in Synephebis. 25. Nec vero dubitet agricola, quamvis sit senex, quærenti, cui serat, respondere: *Diis immortalibus, qui me non accipere modo hæc a majoribus voluerunt, sed etiam posteris prodere.*

VIII. Melius Cæcilius de sene alteri sæculo prospiciente, quam illud idem:

> Edepol, senectus, si nihil quidquam aliud vitî
> Apportes tecum, quum advenis; unum id sat est,
> Quod, diu vivendo, multa, quæ non vult, videt.

Et multa fortasse, quæ vult. Atque in ea, quæ non vult, sæpe etiam adolescentia incurrit. Illud vero idem Cæcilius vitiosius :

> Tum equidem in senecta hoc deputo miserrimum,
> Sentire, ea ætate esse se odiosum alteri.

Jucundum potius, quam odiosum. 26. Ut enim adolescentibus bona indole præditis sapientes senes delectantur, leviorque fit senectus eorum, qui a juventute coluntur et diliguntur, sic adolescentes senum præceptis gaudent, quibus ad virtutum studia ducuntur. Nec minus intelligo me vobis, quam mihi vos esse jucundos. Sed videtis, ut senectus non modo languida atque iners non sit, verum etiam sit operosa et semper agens aliquid et moliens, tale scilicet, quale cujusque studium in superiore vita fuit. Quid, qui etiam addiscunt aliquid ? ut et Solonem versibus gloriantem videmus, qui se, quotidie aliquid addiscentem, dicit senem fieri, et ego feci, qui Græcas litteras senex didici ; quas quidem sic avide arripui, quasi diuturnam sitim explere cupiens, ut ea ipsa mihi nota essent, quibus me nunc exemplis uti videtis. Quod quum fecisse Socratem in fidibus audirem, vellem equidem etiam illud, (discebant enim fidibus antiqui,) sed in litteris certe elaboravi.

IX. 27. Ne nunc quidem vires desidero adolescentis, (is enim erat locus alter de vitiis senectutis,) non plus, quam adolescens tauri aut elephanti desiderabam. Quod est, eo decet uti, et, quidquid agas, agere pro viribus. Quæ enim vox potest esse contemptior, quam Milonis Crotoniatæ ? qui, quum jam senex esset, athletasque se exercentes in curriculo videret, adspexisse lacertos suos dicitur, illacrimansque dixisse : *At hi quidem jam mortui sunt.* Non vero tam isti, quam tu ipse, nugator. Neque enim ex te unquam es nobilitatus, sed ex lateribus et lacertis tuis. Nihil Sex. Ælius tale, nihil multis annis ante Ti. Coruncanius : nihil modo P. Crassus ; a quibus jura civibus præscribebantur ; quorum usque ad extremum spiritum est provecta prudentia. 28. Orator, metuo, ne languescat senectute. Est enim munus ejus non ingenii solum, sed laterum etiam et virium. Omnino canorum illud in voce splendescit etiam, nescio quo pacto, in senectute ; quod equidem adhuc non amisi ; et videtis annos ; sed tamen est decorus senis sermo quietus et remissus, facitque persæpe ipsa sibi audientiam diserti senis compta et mitis oratio. Quam si ipse exsequi nequeas, possis tamen Scipioni præcipere et Lælio. Quid est enim jucundius senectute stipata studiis juventutis ? 29. An

ne eas quidem vires senectuti relinquimus, ut adolescentes doceat, instituat, ad omne officii munus instruat? Quo quidem opere quid potest esse præclarius? Mihi vero Cn. et P. Scipiones et avi tui duo, L. Æmilius et P. Africanus, comitatu nobilium juvenum fortunati videbantur; nec ulli bonarum artium magistri non beati putandi, quamvis consenuerint vires atque defecerint. Etsi ista ipsa defectio virium adolescentiæ vitiis efficitur sæpius quam senectutis. Libidinosa enim et intemperans adolescentia effetum corpus tradit senectuti. 30. Cyrus quidem apud Xenophontem eo sermone, quem moriens habuit, quum admodum senex esset, negat se unquam sensisse, senectutem suam imbecilliorem factam, quam adolescentia fuisset. Ego L. Metellum memini puer, (qui quum quadriennio post alterum Consulatum Pontifex maximus factus esset, viginti et duo annos ei sacerdotio præfuit,) ita bonis esse viribus extremo tempore ætatis, ut adolescentiam non requireret. Nihil necesse est mihi de me ipso dicere; quanquam est id quidem senile ætatique nostræ conceditur.

X. 31. Videtisne, ut apud Homerum sæpissime Nestor de virtutibus suis prædicet? Tertiam enim jam ætatem hominum vivebat; nec erat ei verendum, ne, vera prædicans de se, nimis videretur aut insolens aut loquax. Etenim, ut ait Homerus, ex ejus lingua melle dulcior fluebat oratio: quam ad suavitatem nullis egebat corporis viribus. Et tamen dux ille Græciæ nusquam optat, ut Ajacis similes habeat decem, sed ut Nestoris; quod si sibi acciderit, non dubitat, quin brevi sit Troja peritura. 32. Sed redeo ad me. Quartum ago annum et octogesimum; vellem equidem idem posse gloriari, quod Cyrus: sed tamen hoc queo dicere, non me quidem iis esse viribus, quibus aut miles bello Punico, aut Quæstor eodem bello, aut Consul in Hispania fuerim, aut quadriennio post, quum Tribunus militaris depugnavi apud Thermopylas, M.' Glabrione Consule; sed tamen, ut vos videtis, non plane me enervavit nec afflixit senectus; non curia vires meas desiderat, non Rostra, non amici, non clientes, non hospites. Nec enim unquam sum assensus veteri illi laudatoque proverbio, quod monet, mature fieri senem, si diu velis esse senex. Ego vero me minus diu senem esse mallem, quam esse senem ante quam essem. Itaque nemo adhuc convenire me voluit, cui fuerim occupatus. 33. At minus habeo virium, quam vestrum utervis. Ne vos quidem T. Pontii centurionis vires habetis: num idcirco est ille præstantior? Moderatio modo virium adsit, et tantum, quantum potest, quisque nitatur; næ ille non magno desiderio tenebitur virium.

Olympiæ per stadium ingressus esse Milo dicitur, quum humeris sustineret bovem vivum. Utrum igitur has corporis, an Pythagoræ tibi malis vires ingenii dari? Denique isto bono utare, dum adsit; quum absit, ne requiras; nisi forte adolescentes pueritiam, paullum ætate progressi adolescentiam debent requirere. Cursus est certus ætatis, et una via naturæ, eaque simplex: suaque cuique parti ætatis tempestivitas est data; ut et infirmitas puerorum, et ferocitas juvenum, et gravitas jam constantis ætatis, et senectutis maturitas naturale quiddam habeat, quod suo tempore percipi debeat. 34. Audire te arbitror, Scipio, hospes tuus avitus, Masinissa, quæ faciat hodie, nonaginta annos natus; quum ingressus iter pedibus sit, in equum omnino non adscendere; quum equo, ex equo non descendere; nullo imbre, nullo frigore adduci, ut capite operto sit; summam esse in eo corporis siccitatem: itaque omnia exsequi regis officia et munera. Potest igitur exercitatio et temperantia etiam in senectute conservare aliquid pristini roboris.

XI. Ne sint in senectute vires? Ne postulantur quidem vires a senectute. Ergo et legibus et institutis vacat ætas nostra muneribus iis, quæ non possunt sine viribus sustineri. Itaque non modo, quod non possumus, sed ne quantum possumus quidem, cogimur. 35. At ita multi sunt imbecilli senes, ut nullum officii aut omnino vitæ munus exsequi possint. At id quidem non proprium senectutis vitium est, sed commune valetudinis. Quam fuit imbecillus P. Africani filius is, qui te adoptavit! quam tenui aut nulla potius valetudine! Quod ni ita fuisset, alterum illud exstitisset lumen civitatis. Ad paternam enim magnitudinem animi doctrina uberior accesserat. Quid mirum igitur in senibus, si infirmi sunt aliquando, quum id ne adolescentes quidem effugere possint? Resistendum, Læli et Scipio, senectuti est, ejusque vitia diligentia compensanda sunt; pugnandum, tanquam contra morbum, sic contra senectutem. 36. Habenda ratio valetudinis: utendum exercitationibus modicis; tantum cibi et potionis adhibendum, ut reficiantur vires, non opprimantur. Nec vero corpori soli subveniendum est, sed menti atque animo multo magis. Nam hæc quoque, nisi tanquam lumini oleum instilles, exstinguuntur senectute. Et corpora quidem exercitationum defatigatione ingravescunt: animi autem exercendo levantur. Nam quos ait Cæcilius

—— *comicos stultos senes,*

hos significat credulos, obliviosos, dissolutos; quæ vitia sunt

non senectutis, sed inertis, ignavæ, somniculosæ senectutis. Ut petulantia, ut libido magis est adolescentium, quam senum, nec tamen omnium adolescentium, sed non proborum, sic ista senilis stultitia, quæ deliratio appellari solet, senum levium est, non omnium. 37. Quattuor robustos filios, quinque filias, tantam domum, tantas clientelas Appius regebat, et senex et cæcus; intentum enim animum, tanquam arcum, habebat, nec languescens succumbebat senectuti. Tenebat non modo auctoritatem, sed etiam imperium in suos; metuebant servi, verebantur liberi, carum omnes habebant; vigebat in illa domo patrius mos et disciplina. 38. Ita enim senectus honesta est, si se ipsa defendit, si jus suum retinet, si nemini mancipata est, si usque ad ultimum spiritum dominatur in suos. Ut enim adolescentem, in quo est senile aliquid, sic senem, in quo est aliquid adolescentis, probo: quod qui sequitur, corpore senex esse poterit, animo nunquam erit. Septimus mihi Originum liber est in manibus; omnia antiquitatis monumenta colligo; causarum illustrium, quascunque defendi, nunc quum maxime conficio orationes; jus augurium, pontificium, civile tracto: multum etiam Græcis litteris utor; Pythagoreorumque more, exercendæ memoriæ gratia, quid quoque die dixerim, audierim, egerim, commemoro vesperi. Hæ sunt exercitationes ingenii, hæc curricula mentis; in his desudans atque elaborans, corporis vires non magno opere desidero. Adsum amicis: venio in senatum frequens, ultroque affero res multum et diu cogitatas, easque tueor animi, non corporis viribus. Quæ si exsequi nequirem, tamen me lectulus meus oblectaret, ea ipsa cogitantem, quæ jam agere non possem; sed ut possim, facit acta vita. Semper enim in his studiis laboribusque viventi non intelligitur, quando obrepat senectus. Ita sensim sine sensu ætas senescit, nec subito frangitur, sed diuturnitate extinguitur.

XII. 39. Sequitur tertia vituperatio senectutis, quod eam carere dicunt voluptatibus. O præclarum munus ætatis, si quidem id auferta nobis, quod est in adolescentia vitiosissimum! Accipite enim, optimi adolescentes, veterem orationem Archytæ Tarentini, magni in primis et præclari viri, quæ mihi tradita est, quum essem adolescens Tarenti cum Q. Maximo. Nullam capitaliorem pestem, quam voluptatem corporis, hominibus dicebat a natura datam; cujus voluptatis avidæ libidines temere et effrenate ad potiundum incitarentur. 40. Hinc patriæ proditiones, hinc rerum publicarum eversiones, hinc cum hostibus clandestina colloquia nasci: nullum denique scelus,

nullum malum facinus esse, ad quod suscipiendum non libido voluptatis impelleret; stupra vero et adulteria et omne tale flagitium nullis aliis illecebris excitari, nisi voluptatis. Quumque homini sive natura sive quis Deus nihil mente præstabilius dedisset, huic divino muneri ac dono nihil tam esse inimicum, quam voluptatem. 41. Nec enim libidine dominante temperantiæ locum esse, neque omnino in voluptatis regno virtutem posse consistere. Quod quo magis intelligi posset, fingere animo jubebat, tanta incitatum aliquem voluptate corporis, quanta percipi posset maxima. Nemini censebat fore dubium, quin tamdiu, dum ita gauderet, nihil agitare mente, nihil ratione, nihil cogitatione consequi posset. Quocirca nihil esse tam detestabile tamque pestiferum, quam voluptatem: si quidem ea, quum major esset atque longinquior, omne animi lumen exstingueret. Hæc cum C. Pontio Samnite, patre ejus, a quo Caudino prælio Sp. Postumius, T. Veturius, Consules, superati sunt, locutum Archytam, Nearchus Tarentinus, hospes noster, qui in amicitia populi Romani permanserat, se a majoribus natu accepisse dicebat, quum quidem ei sermoni interfuisset Plato Atheniensis; quem Tarentum venisse L. Camillo, Appio Claudio Consulibus, reperio. 42. Quorsus hæc? Ut intelligatis, si voluptatem aspernari ratione et sapientia non possemus, magnam habendam senectuti gratiam, quæ efficeret, ut id non liberet, quod non oporteret. Impedit enim consilium voluptas; rationi inimica est; mentis, ut ita dicam, præstringit oculos; nec habet ullum cum virtute commercium. Invitus feci, ut fortissimi viri T. Flaminini fratrem L. Flamininum e Senatu ejicerem, septem annis post, quam Consul fuisset; sed notandam putavi libidinem. Ille enim quum esset Consul, in Gallia exoratus in convivio a scorto est, ut securi feriret aliquem eorum, qui in vinculis essent damnati rei capitalis. Hic, Tito, fratre suo, Censore, qui proximus ante me fuerat, elapsus est; mihi vero et Flacco neutiquam probari potuit tam flagitiosa et tam perdita libido, quæ cum probro privato conjungeret imperii dedecus.

XIII. 43. Sæpe audivi a majoribus natu, qui se porro pueros a senibus audisse dicebant, mirari solitum C. Fabricium, quod, quum apud regem Pyrrhum legatus esset, audisset a Thessalo Cinea, esse quendam Athenis, qui se sapientem profiteretur, eumque dicere, omnia, quæ faceremus, ad voluptatem esse referenda. Quod ex eo audientes, M.' Curiam et Ti. Coruncanium optare solitos, ut id Samnitibus ipsique Pyrrho persuaderetur, quo facilius vinci possent, quum se voluptatibus

dedissent. Vixerat M.' Curius cum P. Decio, qui quinquennio ante eum Consulem se pro re publica quarto consulatu devoverat. Norat eundem Fabricius, norat Coruncanius; qui quum ex sua vita, tum ex ejus, quem dico, Decii facto, judicabant esse profecto aliquid natura pulchrum atque præclarum, quod sua sponte peteretur, quodque, spreta et contempta voluptate, optimus quisque sequeretur. 44. Quorsum igitur tam multa de voluptate? Quia non modo vituperatio nulla, sed etiam summa laus senectutis est, quòd ea voluptates nullas magno opere desiderat. Caret epulis exstructisque mensis et frequentibus poculis. Caret ergo etiam vinolentia et cruditate et insomniis. Sed si aliquid dandum est voluptati, quoniam ejus blanditiis non facile obsistimus, (divine enim Plato escam malorum voluptatem appellat, quod ea videlicet homines capiantur, ut pisces,) quanquam immoderatis epulis caret senectus, modicis tamen conviviis delectari potest. C. Duillium, M. F., qui Pœnos classe primus devicerat, redeuntem a cœna sènem sæpe videbam puer; delectabatur crebro funali et tibicine, quæ sibi nullo exemplo privatus sumpserat; tantum licentiæ dabat gloria. 45. Sed quid ego alios? Ad meipsum jam revertar. Primum habui semper sodales. Sodalitates autem me Quæstore constitutæ sunt, sacris Idæis Magnæ Matris acceptis. Epulabar igitur cum sodalibus omnino modice, sed erat quidam fervor ætatis; qua progrediente, omnia fiunt indies mitiora. Neque enim ipsorum conviviorum delectationem voluptatibus corporis magis, quam cœtu amicorum et sermonibus metiebar. Bene enim majores nostri accubitionem epularem amicorum, quia vitæ conjunctionem haberet, convivium nominarunt; melius, quam Græci, qui hoc idem tum compotationem, tum concœnationem vocant, ut, quod in eo genere minimum est, id maxime probare videantur.

XIV 46. Ego vero propter sermonis delectationem tempestivis quoque conviviis delector, nec cum æqualibus solum, qui pauci admodum restant, sed cum vestra etiam ætate atque vobiscum: habeoque senectuti magnam gratiam, quæ mihi sermonis aviditatem auxit, potionis et cibi sustulit. Quod si quem etiam ista delectant (ne omnino bellum indixisse videar voluptati, cujus est fortasse quidam naturalis modus,) non intelligo, ne in istis quidem ipsis voluptatibus, carere sensu senectutem. Me vero et magisteria delectant, a majoribus instituta, et is sermo, qui more majorum a summo adhibetur in poculo, et pocula, sicut in symposio Xenophontis est, minuta atque rorantia, et refrigeratio æstate, et vicissim aut sol aut

ignis hibernus. Quæ quidem etiam in Sabinis persequi soleo, conviviumque vicinorum quotidie compleo, quod ad multam noctem, quam maxime possumus, vario sermone producimus. 47. At non est voluptatum tanta quasi titillatio in senibus. Credo: sed ne desideratio quidem. Nihil autem molestum, quod non desideres. Bene Sophocles, quum ex eo quidam jam affecto ætate quæreret, uteretume rebus venereis: *Dii meliora!* inquit: *libenter vero istinc, tanquam a domino agresti ac furioso profugi.* Cupidis enim rerum talium odiosum fortasse et molestum est carere: satiatis vero et expletis jucundius est carere, quam frui. Quanquam non caret is, qui non desiderat; ergo hoc non desiderare dico esse jucundius. 48. Quod si istis ipsis voluptatibus bona ætas fruitur libentius, primum parvulis fruitur rebus, ut diximus, deinde iis, quibus senectus, si non abunde potitur, non omnino caret. Ut Turpione Ambivio magis delectatur, qui in prima cavea spectat, delectatur tamen etiam, qui in ultima, sic adolescentia voluptates propter intuens magis fortasse lætatur; sed delectatur etiam senectus procul eas spectans, tantum, quantum sat est. 49. At illa quanti sunt, animum, tanquam emeritis stipendiis libidinis, ambitionis, contentionum, inimicitiarum, cupiditatum omnium, secum esse, secumque (ut dicitur) vivere! Si vero habet aliquod tanquam pabulum studii atque doctrinæ, nihil est otiosa senectute jucundius. Videbamus in studio dimetiendi pæne cæli atque terræ C. Gallum, familiarem patris tui, Scipio. Quoties illum lux, noctu aliquid describere ingressum, quoties nox oppressit, quum mane cœpisset! Quam delectabat eum, defectiones solis et lunæ multo ante nobis prædicere! 50. Quid in levioribus studiis, sed tamen acutis? Quam gaudebat bello suo Punico Nævius! quam Truculento Plautus! quam Pseudolo! Vidi etiam senem Livium; qui quum sex annis ante, quam ego natus sum, fabulam docuisset, Centone Tuditanoque Consulibus, usque ad adolescentiam meam processit ætate. Quid de P. Licinii Crassi et pontificii et civilis juris studio loquar? aut de hujus P. Scipionis, qui his paucis diebus Pontifex maximus factus est? Atqui eos omnes, quos commemoravi, his studiis flagrantes senes vidimus. M. vero Cethegum, quem recte Suadæ medullam dixit Ennius, quanto studio exerceri in dicendo videbamus, etiam senem! Quæ sunt igitur epularum aut ludorum aut scortorum voluptates cum his voluptatibus comparandæ? Atque hæc quidem studia doctrinæ; quæ quidem prudentibus et bene institutis pariter cum ætate crescunt, ut honestum illud Solonis sit, quod ait versiculo quodam, ut ante

dixi, senescere se, multa indies addiscentem: qua voluptate animi nulla certe potest esse major.

XV. 51. Venio nunc ad voluptates agricolarum, quibus ego incredibiliter delector; quæ nec ulla impediuntur senectute, et mihi ad sapientis vitam proxime videntur accedere. Habent enim rationem cum terra, quæ nunquam recusat imperium, nec unquam sine usura reddit, quod accepit: sed alias minore, plerumque majore cum fenore. Quanquam me quidem non fructus modo, sed etiam ipsius terræ vis ac natura delectat: quæ quum gremio mollito ac subacto semen sparsum excepit, primum id occæcatum cohibet; ex quo occatio, quæ hoc efficit, nominata est; deinde tepefactum vapore et compressu suo diffindit, et elicit herbescentem ex eo viriditatem; quæ, nixa fibris stirpium, sensim adolescit, culmoque erecta geniculato, vaginis jam quasi pubescens includitur; e quibus quum emersit, fundit frugem, spici ordine structam, et contra avium minorum morsus munitur vallo aristarum. 52. Quid ego vitium ortus, satus, incrementa commemorem? Satiari delectatione non possum; ut meæ senectutis requietem oblectamentumque noscatis. Omitto enim vim ipsam omnium, quæ generantur e terra: quæ ex fici tantulo grano aut ex acini vinaceo aut ex ceterarum frugum ac stirpium minutissimis seminibus tantos truncos ramosque procreet: malleoli, plantæ, sarmenta, viviradices, propagines, nonne ea efficiunt, ut quemvis cum admiratione delectent? Vitis quidem, quæ natura caduca est, et, nisi fulta sit, ad terram fertur, eadem, ut se erigat, claviculis suis, quasi manibus, quidquid est nacta, complectitur; quam serpentem multiplici lapsu et erratico, ferro amputans, coercet ars agricolarum, ne silvescat sarmentis et in omnes partes nimia fundatur. 53. Itaque ineunte vere in iis, quæ relicta sunt, exsistit tanquam ad articulos sarmentorum ea, quæ gemma dicitur; a qua oriens uva sese ostendit; quæ, et succo terræ et calore solis augescens, primo est peracerba gustatu, deinde maturata dulcescit, vestitaque pampinis, nec modico tepore caret, et nimios solis defendit ardores. Qua quid potest esse quum fructu lætius, tum adspectu pulchrius? Cujus quidem non utilitas me solum, ut ante dixi, sed etiam cultura et natura ipsa delectat: adminiculorum ordines, capitum jugatio, religatio et propagatio vitium, sarmentorumque ea, quam dixi, aliorum amputatio, aliorum immissio. Quid ego irrigationes, quid fossiones agri repastinationesque proferam, quibus fit multo terra fecundior? 54. Quid de utilitate loquar stercorandi? Dixi in eo libro, quem de rebus rusticis scripsi. De qua doctus

Hesiodus ne verbum quidem fecit, quum de cultura agri scriberet. At Homerus, qui multis, ut mihi videtur, ante sæculis fuit, Laertem, lenientem desiderium, quod capiebat e filio, colentem agrum et eum stercorantem facit. Nec vero segetibus solum et pratis et vineis et arbustis res rusticæ lætæ sunt, sed hortis etiam et pomariis : tum pecudum pastu, apium examinibus, florum omnium varietate. Nec consitiones modo delectant, sed etiam insitiones ; quibus nihil invenit agricultura sollertius.

XVI. 55. Possum persequi multa oblectamenta rerum rusticarum ; sed ea ipsa, quæ dixi, sentio fuisse longiora. Ignoscetis autem ; nam et studio rerum rusticarum provectus sum, et senectus est natura loquacior ; ne ab omnibus eam vitiis videar vindicare. Ergo in hac vita M.' Curius, quum de Samnitibus, de Sabinis, de Pyrrho triumphasset, consumpsit extremum tempus ætatis. Cujus quidem villam ego contemplans, (abest enim non longe a me,) admirari satis non possum vel hominis ipsius continentiam vel temporum disciplinam. Curio, ad focum sedenti, magnum auri pondus Samnites quum attulissent, repudiati sunt. Non enim aurum habere præclarum sibi videri dixit, sed iis qui haberent aurum, imperare. 56. Poteratne tantus animus non efficere jucundam senectutem? Sed venio ad agricolas, ne a me ipso recedam. In agris erant tum senatores, id est senes : si quidem aranti L. Quinctio Cincinnato nuntiatum est, eum Dictatorem esse factum : cujus Dictatoris jussu magister equitum C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Mælium, regnum appetentem, occupatum interemit. A villa in senatum arcessebatur et Curius, et ceteri senes ; ex quo, qui eos arcessebant, viatores nominati sunt. Num igitur horum senectus miserabilis fuit, qui se agri cultione oblectabant? Mea quidem sententia haud scio an nulla beatior possit esse ; neque solum officio, quod hominum generi universo cultura agrorum est salutaris, sed et delectatione, quam dixi, et saturitate copiaque rerum omnium, quæ ad victum hominum, ad cultum etiam Deorum pertinent, ut, quoniam hæc quidam desiderant, in gratiam jam cum voluptate redeamus. Semper enim boni assiduique domini referta cella vinaria, olearia, etiam penaria est, villaque tota locuples est ; abundat porco, hædo, agno, gallina, lacte, caseo, melle. Jam hortum ipsi agricolæ succidiam alteram appellant. Conditiora facit hæc supervacanei etiam operis aucupium atque venatio. 57. Quid de pratorum viriditate, aut arborum ordinibus, aut vinearum olivetorumve specie plura dicam? Brevi præcidam. Agro bene culto nihil

potest esse nec usu uberius, nec specie ornatius; ad quem fruendum non modo non retardat, verum etiam invitat atque allectat senectus. Ubi enim potest illa ætas aut calescere vel apricatione melius vel igni, aut vicissim umbris aquisve refrigerari salubrius? 58. habeant igitur sibi arma, sibi equos, sibi hastas, sibi clavam et pilam, sibi natationes atque cursus: nobis senibus ex lusionibus multis talos relinquant et tesseras; id ipsum utrumque lubebit, quoniam sine iis beata esse senectus potest.

XVII. 59. Multas ad res perutiles Xenophontis libri sunt, quos legito, quæso, studiose, ut facitis. Quam copiose ab eo agricultura laudatur in eo libro, qui est de tuenda re familiari, qui Œconomicus inscribitur! Atque ut intelligatis, nihil ei tam regale videri, quam studium agri colendi, Socrates in eo libro loquitur cum Critobulo, Cyrum minorem, Persarum regem, præstantem ingenio atque imperii gloria, quum Lysander Lacedæmonius, vir summæ virtutis, venisset ad eum Sardis, eique dona a sociis attulisset, (et ceteris in rebus communem erga Lysandrum atque humanum fuisse, et ei quendam consæptum agrum, diligenter consitum, ostendisse.) Quum autem admiraretur Lysander et proceritates arborum, et directos in quincuncem ordines, et humum subactam atque puram, et suavitatem odorum, qui afflarentur e floribus, tum eum dixisse, mirari se non modo diligentiam, sed etiam sollertiam ejus, a quo essent illa dimensa atque descripta: et Cyrum respondisse: *Atqui ego omnia ista sum dimensus; mei sunt ordines, mea descriptio; multæ etiam istarum arborum mea manu sunt satæ.* Tum Lysandrum intuentem purpuram ejus et nitorem corporis ornatumque Persicum multo auro multisque gemmis, dixisse: *Rite vero te, Cyre, beatum ferunt, quoniam virtuti tuæ fortuna conjuncta est.* 60. Hac igitur fortuna frui licet senibus: nec ætas impedit, quo minus et ceterarum rerum, et in primis agri colendi studia teneamus usque ad ultimum tempus senectutis. M. quidem Valerium Corvum accepimus ad centesimum annum perduxisse, quum esset acta jam ætate in agris, eosque coleret: cujus inter primum et sextum Consulatum sex et quadraginta anni interfuerunt. Itaque quantum spatium ætatis majores nostri ad senectutis initium esse voluerunt, tantus illi cursus honorum fuit. Atque hujus extrema ætas hoc beatior, quam media, quod auctoritatis habebat plus, laboris minus. Apex est autem senectutis auctoritas. 61. Quanta fuit in L. Cæcilio Metello! quanta in Atilio Calatino! in quem illud elogium: *unum hunc plurimæ*

consentiunt gentes, populi primarium fuisse virum. Notum est carmen, incisum in sepulcro. Jure igitur gravis, cujus de laudibus omnium esset fama consentiens. Quem virum nuper P. Crassum, Pontificem maximum, quem postea M. Lepidum, eodem sacerdotio præditum, vidimus! Quid de Paullo aut Africano loquar, aut, ut jam ante, de Maximo? quorum non in sententia solum, sed etiam in nutu residebat auctoritas. Habet senectus, honorata præsertim, tantam auctoritatem, ut ea pluris sit, quam omnes adolescentiæ voluptates.

XVIII. 62. Sed in omni oratione mementote, eam me senectutem laudare quæ fundamentis adolescentiæ constituta sit. Ex quo id efficitur, quod ego magno quondam cum assensu omnium dixi: Miseram esse senectutem, quæ se oratione defenderet. Non cani, nec rugæ repente auctoritatem arripere possunt: sed honeste acta superior ætas fructus capit auctoritatis extremos. 63. Hæc enim ipsa sunt honorabilia, quæ videntur levia atque communia, salutari, appeti, decedi, assurgi, deduci, reduci, consuli: quæ et apud nos et in aliis civitatibus, ut quæque optime morata est, ita diligentissime observantur. Lysandrum Lacedæmonium, cujus modo mentionem feci, dicere aiunt solitum, Lacedæmone esse honestissimum domicilium senectutis. Nusquam enim tantum tribuitur ætati, nusquam est senectus honoratior. Quin etiam memoriæ proditum est, quum Athenis, ludis, quidam in theatrum grandis natu venisset, magno consessu locum nusquam ei datum a suis civibus; quum autem ad Lacedæmonios accessisset, qui, legati quum essent, certo in loco consederant, consurrexisse omnes illi dicuntur, et senem sessum recepisse. 64. Quibus quum a cuncto consessu plausus esset multiplex datus, dixisse ex iis quendam, Athenienses scire, quæ recta essent, sed facere nolle. Multa in nostro collegio præclara, sed hoc, de quo agimus, in primis, quod, ut quisque ætate antecedit, ita sententiæ principatum tenet, neque solum honore antecedentibus, sed iis etiam, qui cum imperio sunt, majores natu augures anteponuntur. Quæ sunt igitur voluptates corporis cum auctoritatis præmiis comparandæ? Quibus qui splendide usi sunt, ii mihi videntur fabulam ætatis peregisse, nec, tanquam inexercitati histriones, in extremo actu corruisse. 65. At sunt morosi et anxii et iracundi et difficiles senes; si quærimus, etiam avari. Sed hæc morum vitia sunt, non senectutis. Ac morositas tamen, et ea vitia, quæ dixi, habent aliquid excusationis, non illius quidem justæ, sed quæ probari posse videatur. Contemni se putant, despici, illudi. Præterea in fragili corpore odiosa omnis offensio est. Quæ

tamen omnia dulciora fiunt et moribus bonis et artibus; idque quum in vita, tum in scena intelligi potest ex iis fratribus, qui in Adelphis sunt. Quanta in altero diritas, in altero comitas! Sic se res habet. Ut enim non omne vinum, sic non omnis ætas vetustate coacescit. Severitatem in senectute probo; sed eam, sicut alia, modicam: acerbitatem nullo modo. Avaritia vero senilis quid sibi velit, non intelligo. Potest enim quidquam esse absurdius, quam quo minus viæ restat, eo plus viatici quærere?

XIX. 66. Quarta restat causa, quæ maxime angere atque sollicitam habere nostram ætatem videtur, appropinquatio mortis; quæ certe a senectute non potest longe abesse. O miserum senem, qui mortem contemnendam esse, in tam longa ætate non viderit! quæ aut plane negligenda est, si omnino exstinguit animum, aut etiam optanda, si aliquo eum deducit, ubi sit futurus æternus. Atqui tertium certe nihil inveniri potest. 67. Quid igitur timeam, si aut non miser post mortem, aut beatus etiam futurus sum? Quanquam quis est tam stultus, quamvis sit adolescens, cui sit exploratum, se ad vesperum esse victurum? Quin etiam ætas illa multo plures, quam nostra, mortis casus habet. Facilius in morbos incidunt adolescentes; gravius ægrotant; tristius curantur. Itaque pauci veniunt ad senectutem: quod ni ita accideret, melius et prudentius viveretur. Mens enim et ratio et consilium in senibus est: qui si nulli fuissent, nullæ omnino civitates fuissent. Sed redeo ad mortem impendentem. Quod est illud crimen senectutis, quum id ei videatis cum adolescentia esse commune? 68. Sensi ego in optimo filio, tu in exspectatis ad amplissimam dignitatem fratribus, Scipio, mortem omni ætati esse communem. At sperat adolescens diu se victurum: quod sperare idem senex non potest. Insipienter sperat. Quid enim stultius, quam incerta pro certis habere, falsa pro veris? At senex, ne quod speret quidem, habet: at est eo meliore conditione, quam adolescens, quum id, quod ille sperat, hic consecutus est. Ille vult diu vivere: hic diu vixit. 69. Quanquam, o Dii boni! quid est in hominis vita diu? Da enim supremum tempus: exspectemus Tartessiorum Regis ætatem: fuit enim, ut scriptum video, Arganthonius quidam Gadibus, qui octoginta regnaverat annos, centum viginti vixerat: sed mihi ne diuturnum quidem quidquam videtur, in quo est aliquid extremum. Quum enim id advenit, tum illud, quod præteriit, effluxit: tantum remanet, quod virtute et recte factis consecutus sis. Horæ quidem cedunt et dies et menses et anni; nec præteritum tempus unquam

revertitur, nec, quid sequatur, sciri potest. Quod cuique temporis ad vivendum datur, eo debet esse contentus. 70. Neque enim histrioni, ut placeat, peragenda fabula est, modo, in quocunque fuerit actu, probetur: neque sapienti usque ad *Plaudite* veniendum est. Breve enim tempus ætatis satis longum est ad bene honesteque vivendum; sin processeris longius, non magis dolendum est, quam agricolæ dolent, præterita verni temporis suavitate, æstatem autumnumque venisse. Ver enim tanquam adolescentiam significat, ostenditque fructus futuros: reliqua tempora demetendis fructibus et percipiendis accommodata sunt. 71. Fructus autem senectutis est, ut sæpe dixi, ante partorum bonorum memoria et copia. Omnia autem quæ secundum naturam fiunt, sunt habenda in bonis. Quid est autem tam secundum naturam, quam senibus emori? quod idem contingit adolescentibus, adversante et repugnante natura. Itaque adolescentes mihi mori sic videntur, ut quum aquæ multitudine flammæ vis opprimitur: senes autem, sicut sua sponte, nulla adhibita vi, consumptus ignis exstinguitur. Et, quasi poma ex arboribus, cruda si sunt, vix avelluntur, si matura et cocta, decidunt, sic vitam adolescentibus vis aufert, senibus maturitas; quæ quidem mihi tam jucunda est, ut, quo propius ad mortem accedam, quasi terram videre videar, aliquandoque in portum ex longa navigatione esse venturus.

XX. 72. Senectutis autem nullus est certus terminus; recteque in ea vivitur, quoad munus officii exsequi et tueri possis. Ex quo fit, ut animosior etiam senectus sit, quam adolescentia, et fortior. Hoc illud est, quod Pisistrato tyranno a Solone responsum est, quum illi quærenti, qua tandem spe fretus sibi tam audaciter obsisteret, respondisse dicitur, *Senectute.* Sed vivendi est finis optimus, quum, integra mente certisque sensibus, opus ipsa suum eadem, quæ coagmentavit, natura dissolvit. Ut navem, ut ædificium idem destruit facillime, qui construxit, sic hominem eadem optime, quæ conglutinavit, natura dissolvit. Jam omnis conglutinatio recens ægre, inveterata facile divellitur. Ita fit, ut illud breve vitæ reliquum nec avide appetendum senibus, nec sine causa deserendum sit. Vetatque Pythagoras, injussu Imperatoris, id est, Dei, de præsidio et statione vitæ decedere. 73. Solonis quidem sapientis elogium est, quo se negat velle suam mortem dolore amicorum et lamentis vacare. Vult, credo, se esse carum suis. Sed haud scio, an melius Ennius:

Nemo me lacrumis decoret, nec funera fletu
Faxit.

Non censet lugendam esse mortem, quam immortalitas consequatur. 74. Jam sensus moriendi aliquis esse potest; isque ad exiguum tempus, præsertim seni; post mortem quidem sensus aut optandus, aut nullus est. Sed hoc meditatum ab adolescentia debet esse, mortem ut negligamus: sine qua meditatione tranquillo esse animo potest nemo. Moriendum enim certe est: et id incertum, an hoc ipso die. Mortem igitur omnibus horis impendentem timens, qui poterit animo con-istere? 75. De qua non ita longa disputatione opus esse letur, quum recorder, non L. Brutum, qui in liberanda patria interfectus, non duo Decios, qui ad voluntariam mortem am equorum incitaverunt, non M. Atilium, qui ad suppli-ium est profectus, ut fidem hosti datam conservaret, non duos Scipiones, qui iter Pœnis vel corporibus suis obstruere voluerunt, non avum tuum L. Paullum, qui morte luit collegæ in Cannensi ignominia temeritatem, non M. Marcellum, cujus interitum ne crudelissimus quidem hostis honore sepulturæ carere passus est, sed legiones nostras, quod scripsi in Originibus, in eum locum sæpe profectas alacri animo et erecto, unde se nunquam redituras arbitrarentur. Quod igitur adolescentes, et ii quidem non solum indocti, sed etiam rustici contemnunt, id docti senes extimescent? 76. Omnino, ut mihi quidem videtur, rerum omnium satietas vitæ facit satietatem. Sunt pueritiæ certa studia; num igitur ea desiderant adolescentes? Sunt ineuntis adolescentiæ: num ea constans jam requirit ætas, quæ media dicitur? Sunt etiam ejus ætatis: ne ea quidem quæruntur in senectute. Sunt extrema quædam studia senectutis; ergo ut superiorum ætatum studia occidunt, sic occidunt etiam senectutis; quod quum evenit, satietas vitæ tempus maturum mortis affert.

XXI. 77. Equidem non video, cur, quid ipse sentiam de morte, non audeam vobis dicere; quod eo melius mihi cernere videor, quo ab ea propius absum. Ego vestros patres, P. Scipio, tuque, C. Læli, viros clarissimos mihique amicissimos, vivere arbitror; et eam quidem vitam, quæ est sola vita nominanda. Nam, dum sumus inclusi in his compagibus corporis, munere quodam necessitatis et gravi opere perfungimur. Est enim animus cælestis ex altissimo domicilio depressus et quasi demersus in terram, locum divinæ naturæ æternitatique contrarium. Sed credo Deos immortales sparsisse animos in corpora humana, ut essent, qui terras tuerentur, quique, cælestium ordinem contemplantes, imitarentur eum vitæ modo atque constantia. Nec me solum ratio et disputatio impulit, ut ita

crederem, sed nobilitas etiam summorum philosophorum, et auctoritas.

78. Audiebam, Pythagoram Pythagoreosque, incolas pæne nostros, qui essent Italici philosophi quondam nominati, nunquam dubitasse, quin ex universa mente divina delibatos animos haberemus. Demonstrabantur mihi præterea, quæ Socrates supremo vitæ die de immortalitate animorum disseruisset, is, qui esset omnium sapientissimus Apollinis oraculo judicatus. Quid multa? Sic mihi persuasi, sic sentio, quum tanta celeritas animorum sit, tanta memoria præteritorum futurorumque prudentia, tot artes, tantæ scientiæ, tot inventa, non posse eam naturam, quæ res eas contineat, esse mortalem: quumque semper agitetur animus, nec principium motus habeat, quia se ipse moveat, ne finem quidem habiturum esse motus, quia nunquam se ipse sit relicturus: et, quum simplex animi natura esset, neque haberet in se quidquam admixtum dispar sui atque dissimile, non posse eum dividi; quod si non possit, non posse interire: magnoque esse argumento, homines scire pleraque ante quam nati sint, quod jam pueri, quum artes difficiles discant, ita celeriter res innumerabiles arripiant, ut eas non tum primum accipere videantur, sed reminisci et recordari. Hæc Platonis fere.

XXII. 79. Apud Xenophontem autem moriens Cyrus major hæc dicit. *Nolite arbitrari, o mei carissimi filii, me, quum a vobis discessero, nusquam aut nullum fore. Neque enim, dum eram vobiscum, animum meum videbatis, sed eum esse in hoc corpore, ex iis rebus, quas gerebam, intelligebatis. Eundem igitur esse creditote, etiam si nullum videbitis.* 80. *Nec vero clarorum virorum post mortem honores permanerent, si nihil eorum ipsorum animi efficerent, quo diutius memoriam sui teneremus. Mihi quidem nunquam persuaderi potuit, animos, dum in corporibus essent mortalibus, vivere, quum exissent ex iis, emori; nec vero, tum animum esse insipientem, quum ex insipienti corpore evasisset; sed quum omni admixtione corporis liberatus, purus et integer esse cœpisset, tum esse sapientem. Atque etiam, quum hominis natura morte dissolvitur, ceterarum rerum perspicuum est quo quæque discedant; abeunt enim illuc omnia, unde orta sunt: animus vero solus, nec quum adest, nec quum discedit, apparet.* 81. *Jam vero videtis, nihil esse morti tam simile, quam somnum. Atqui dormientium animi maxime declarant divinitatem suam: multa enim, quum remissi et liberi sunt, futura prospiciunt. Ex quo intelligitur, quales futuri sint, quum se plane corporis vinculis relaxaverint. Quare, si hæc ita sunt,*

sic me colitote, ut Deum. Sin una est interiturus animus cum corpore, vos tamen, Deos verentes, qui hanc omnem pulchritudinem tuentur et regunt, memoriam nostri pie inviolateque servabitis.

XXIII. 82. Cyrus quidem hæc moriens. Nos, si placet, nostra videamus. Nemo mihi unquam, Scipio, persuadebit, aut patrem tuum Paullum, aut duos avos, Paullum et Africanum, aut Africani patrem, aut patruum, aut multos præstantes viros, quos enumerare non est necesse, tanta esse conatos, quæ ad posteritatis memoriam pertinerent, nisi animo cernerent, posteritatem ad se pertinere. An censes, (ut de me ipso aliquid more senum glorier,) me tantos labores diurnos nocturnosque domi militiæque suscepturum fuisse, si iisdem finibus gloriam meam, quibus vitam, essem terminaturus? Nonne melius multo fuisset, otiosam ætatem et quietam sine ullo labore et contentione traducere? Sed, nescio quomodo, animus, erigens se, posteritatem ita semper prospiciebat, quasi, quum excessisset e vita, tum denique victurus esset. Quod quidem ni ita se haberet, ut animi immortales essent, haud optimi cujusque animus maxime ad immortalitatem gloriæ niteretur. 83. Quid, quod sapientissimus quisque æquissimo animo moritur, stultissimus iniquissimo? Nonne vobis videtur is animus, qui plus cernat et longius, videre, se ad meliora proficisci: ille autem, cujus obtusior sit acies, non videre? Equidem efferor studio patres vestros, quos colui et dilexi, videndi: neque vero eos solum convenire aveo, quos ipse cognovi, sed illos etiam, de quibus audivi et legi et ipse conscripsi. Quo quidem me proficiscentem haud sane facile quis retraxerit; neque tanquam Peliam recoxerit; et si quis Deus mihi largiatur, ut ex hac ætate repuerascam et in cunis vagiam, valde recusem; nec vero velim, quasi decurso spatio, a calce ad carceres revocari. 84. Quid enim habet vita commodi? quid non potius laboris? Sed habeat sane: habet certe tamen aut satietatem, aut modum. Non lubet enim mihi deplorare vitam, quod multi, et ii docti, sæpe fecerunt; neque me vixisse pœnitet; quoniam ita vixi, ut non frustra me natum existimem; et ex vita ita discedo, tanquam ex hospitio, non tanquam ex domo. Commorandi enim natura deversorium dedit, non habitandi. 85. O præclarum diem, quum ad illud divinum animorum concilium cœtumque proficiscar, quumque ex hac turba et colluvione discedam! Proficiscar enim non ad eos solum viros, de quibus ante dixi, verum etiam ad Catonem meum, quo nemo vir melior natus est, nemo pietate præstantior; cujus a me corpus

crematum est (quod contra decuit ab illo meum); animus vero non me deserens, sed respectans, in ea profecto loca discessit, quo mihi ipsi cernebat esse veniendum. Quem ego meum casum fortiter ferre visus sum, non quo æquo animo ferrem; sed me ipse consolabar, existimans, non longinquum inter nos digressum et discessum fore. 86. His mihi rebus, Scipio (id enim te cum Lælio admirari solere dixisti,) levis est senectus, nec solum non molesta, sed etiam jucunda. Quod si in hoc erro, qui animos hominum immortales esse credam, lubenter erro; nec mihi hunc errorem, quo delector, dum vivo, extorqueri volo; sin mortuus, (ut quidam minuti philosophi censent,) nihil sentiam, non vereor, ne hunc errorem meum mortui philosophi irrideant. Quod si non sumus immortales futuri, tamen extingui homini suo tempore optabile est. Nam habet natura, ut aliarum omnium rerum, sic vivendi modum. Senectus autem ætatis est peractio, tanquam fabulæ, cujus defectionem fugere debemus, præsertim adjuncta satietate.

Hæc habui, de senectute quæ dicerem; ad quam utinam perveniatis! ut ea, quæ ex me audistis, re experti, probare possitis.

LÆLIUS SIVE DE AMICITIA DIALOGUS

AD

T. POMPONIUM ATTICUM.

I.

1. QUINTUS MUCIUS augur multa narrare de C. Lælio, socero suo, memoriter et jucunde solebat, nec dubitare, illum in omni sermone appellare sapientem: ego autem a patre ita eram deductus ad Scævolam, sumpta virili toga, ut, quoad possem et liceret, a senis latere nunquam discederem. Itaque multa ab eo prudenter disputata, multa etiam breviter et commode dicta memoriæ mandabam, fierique studebam ejus prudentia doctior. Quo mortuo, me ad pontificem Scævolam contuli, quem unum nostræ civitatis et ingenio et justitia præstantissimum audeo dicere. Sed de hoc alias; nunc redeo ad augurem. 2. Quum sæpe multa, tum memini, domi in hemicyclio sedentem, ut solebat, quum et ego essem una et pauci admodum familiares, in eum sermonem illum incidere, qui tum fere erat in ore. Meministi enim profecto, Attice, et eo magis, quod P. Sulpicio utebare multum, quum is tribunus plebis capitali odio a Q. Pompeio, qui tum erat Consul, dissideret, quocum conjunctissime et amantissime vixerat, quanta hominum esset vel admiratio, vel querela. 3. Itaque tum Scævola, quum in eam ipsam mentionem incidisset, exposuit nobis sermonem Lælii de amicitia, habitum ab illo secum et cum altero genero C. Fannio, M. F., paucis diebus post mortem Africani. Ejus disputationis sententias memoriæ mandavi; quas hoc libro exposui arbitratu meo: quasi enim ipsos induxi loquentes, ne *Inquam* et *Inquit* sæpius interponeretur, atque ut tanquam a præsentibus coram haberi sermo videretur. Quum enim sæpe mecum ageres, ut de amicitia scriberem aliquid, digna mihi res quum omnium cognitione, tum nostra familiaritate visa est. Itaque feci non invitus, ut prodessem multis rogatu tuo. 4. Sed, ut in Catone Majore, qui est scriptus ad

te de senectute, Catonem induxi senem disputantem, quia nulla videbatur aptior persona, quæ de illa ætate loqueretur, quam ejus, qui et diutissime senex fuisset, et in ipsa senectute præter ceteros floruisset: sic, quum accepissemus a patribus, maxime memorabilem C. Lælii et P. Scipionis familiaritatem fuisse, idonea mihi Lælii persona visa est, quæ de amicitia ea ipsa dissereret, quæ disputata ab eo meminisset Scævola. Genus autem hoc sermonum, positum in hominum veterum auctoritate, et eorum illustrium, plus, nescio quo pacto, videtur habere gravitatis. Itaque, ipse mea legens, sic afficior interdum, ut Catonem, non me, loqui existimem. 5. Sed, ut tum ad senem senex de senectute, sic hoc libro ad amicum amicissimus scripsi de amicitia. Tum est Cato locutus, quo erat nemo fere senior temporibus illis, nemo prudentior: nunc Lælius, et sapiens, (sic enim est habitus,) et amicitiæ gloria excellens, de amicitia loquetur. Tu velim animum a me parumper avertas, Lælium loqui ipsum putes. C. Fannius et Q. Mucius ad socerum veniunt post mortem Africani: ab his sermo oritur: respondet Lælius: cujus tota disputatio est de amicitia, quam legens tu te ipse cognosces.

II. 6. FANNIUS. Sunt ista, Læli. Nec enim melior vir fuit Africano quisquam, nec clarior. Sed existimare debes, omnium oculos nunc in te esse conjectos unum; te sapientem et appellant et existimant. Tribuebatur hoc modo M. Catoni; scimus L. Atilium apud patres nostros appellatum esse sapientem: sed uterque alio quodam modo: Atilius, quia prudens esse in jure civili putabatur; Cato, quia multarum rerum usum habebat: multa ejus et in senatu, et in foro, vel provisa prudenter, vel acta constanter, vel responsa acute, ferebantur, propterea quasi cognomen jam habebat in senectute Sapientis. Te autem alio quodam modo, non solum natura et moribus, verum etiam studio et doctrina esse sapientem, nec sicut vulgus, sed ut eruditi solent appellare sapientem, qualem in reliqua Græcia neminem, 7. (nam qui Septem appellantur, eos, qui ista subtilius quærunt, in numero sapientium non habent) Athenis unum accepimus, et eum quidem etiam Apollinis oraculo sapientissimum judicatum:—hanc esse in te sapientiam existimant, ut omnia tua in te posita ducas, humanosque casus virtute inferiores putes. Itaque ex me quærunt, credo ex hoc item Scævola, quonam pacto mortem Africani feras, eoque magis, quod proximis Nonis, quum in hortos D. Bruti auguris, commentandi causa, ut assolet, convenissemus, tu non affuisti, qui diligentissime semper illum diem et illud munus solitus esses

obire. 8. Scævola. Quærunt quidem, C. Læli, multi, ut est a Fannio dictum; sed ego id respondeo, quod animadverti, te dolorem, quem acceperis quum summi viri tum amicissimi morte, ferre moderate; nec potuisse non commoveri, nec fuisse id humanitatis tuæ; quod autem Nonis in collegio nostro non affuisses, valetudinem respondeo causam, non mæstitiam fuisse. Lælius. Recte tu quidem, Scævola, et vere. Nec enim ab isto officio, quod semper usurpavi, quum valerem, abduci incommodo meo debui; nec ullo casu arbitror hoc constanti homini posse contingere, ut ulla intermissio fiat officii. 9. Tu autem, Fanni, quod mihi tantum tribui dicis, quantum ego nec agnosco nec postulo, facis amice; sed, ut mihi videris, non recte judicas de Catone. Aut enim nemo, quod quidem magis credo, aut, si quisquam, ille sapiens fuit. Quomodo, ut alia omittam, mortem filii tulit! Memineram Paullum, videram Gallum; sed hi in pueris; Cato in perfecto et spectato viro. 10. Quamobrem cave Catoni anteponas ne istum quidem ipsum, quem Apollo, ut ais, sapientissimum judicavit. Hujus enim facta, illius dicta laudantur. De me autem, ut jam cum utroque loquar, sic habetote.

III. Ego, si Scipionis desiderio me moveri negem, quam id recte faciam, viderint sapientes; sed certe mentiar. Moveor enim, tali amico orbatus, qualis, ut arbitror, nemo unquam erit; ut confirmare possum, nemo certe fuit. Sed non egeo medicina: me ipse consolor, et maxime illo solatio, quod eo errore careo, quo, amicorum decessu, plerique angi solent. Nihil enim mali accidisse Scipioni puto: mihi accidit, si quid accidit; suis autem incommodis graviter angi, non amicum, sed seipsum amantis est. 11. Cum illo vero quis neget actum esse præclare? Nisi enim, quod ille minime putabat, immortalitatem optare vellet, quid non est adeptus, quod homini fas esset optare? qui summam spem civium, quam de eo jam puero habuerant, continuo adolescens incredibili virtute superavit; qui consulatum petivit nunquam, factus Consul est bis: primum ante tempus, iterum sibi suo tempore; reipublicæ pæne sero: qui, duabus urbibus eversis, inimicissimis huic imperio, non modo præsentia, verum etiam futura bella delevit. Quid dicam de moribus facillimis? de pietate in matrem? liberalitate in sorores? bonitate in suos? justitia in omnes? Nota sunt vobis. Quam autem civitati carus fuerit, mærore funeris indicatum est. Quid igitur hunc paucorum annorum accessio juvare potuisset? Senectus enim quamvis non sit gravis, ut memini Catonem anno ante, quam est mortuus,

mecum et cum Scipione disserere; tamen aufert eam viriditatem, in qua etiamnunc erat Scipio. 12. Quamobrem vita quidem talis fuit, vel fortuna, vel gloria, ut nihil posset accedere; moriendi autem sensum celeritas abstulit. Quo de genere mortis difficile dictu est; quid homines suspicentur, videtis. Hoc tamen vere licet dicere, P. Scipioni ex multis diebus, quos in vita celeberrimos lætissimosque viderit, illum diem clarissimum fuisse, quum senatu dimisso, domum reductus ad vesperum est a Patribus conscriptis, Populo Romano, sociis et Latinis, pridie quam excessit e vita: ut ex tam alto dignitatis gradu ad superos videatur Deos potius, quam ad inferos pervenisse.

IV. 13. Neque enim assentior iis, qui hæc nuper disserere cœperunt, cum corporibus simul animos interire, atque omnia morte deleri. Plus apud me antiquorum auctoritas valet, vel nostrorum majorum, qui mortuis tam religiosa jura tribuerunt: quod non fecissent profecto, si nihil ad eos pertinere arbitrarentur: vel eorum, qui in hac terra fuerunt, magnamque Græciam, (quæ nunc quidem deleta est, tum florebat) institutis et præceptis suis erudiverunt: vel ejus, qui Apollinis oraculo sapientissimus est judicatus: qui non tum hoc, tum illud, ut plerique, sed idem dicebat semper, Animos hominum esse divinos, iisque, quum e corpore excessissent, reditum in cœlum patere; optimoque et justissimo cuique expeditissimum. 14. Quod item Scipioni videbatur: qui quidem, quasi præsagiret, perpaucis ante mortem diebus, quum et Philus et Manilius adessent, et alii plures, tuque etiam, Scævola, mecum venisses, triduum disseruit de republica: cujus disputationis fuit extremum fere de immortalitate animorum, quæ se in quiete per visum ex Africano audisse dicebat. Id si ita est, ut optimi cujusque animus in morte facillime evolet tanquam e custodia vinculisque corporis: cui censemus cursum ad Deos faciliorem fuisse, quam Scipioni? Quocirca, mærere hoc ejus eventu, vereor, ne invidi magis, quam amici sit. Sin autem illa veriora, ut idem interitus sit animorum et corporum, nec ullus sensus maneat; ut nihil boni est in morte, sic certe nihil mali. Sensu enim amisso, fit idem, quasi natus non esset omnino, quem tamen esse natum et nos gaudemus, et hæc civitas, dum erit, lætabitur. 15. Quamobrem cum illo quidem, ut supra dixi, actum optime est; mecum incommodius, quem fuerat æquius, ut prius introieram, sic prius exire de vita. Sed tamen recordatione nostræ amicitiæ sic fruor, ut beate vixisse videar, quia cum Scipione vixerim, quocum mihi conjuncta cura de

publica re et de privata fuit, quocum et domus et militia communis, et, id in quo est omnis vis amicitiæ, voluntatum, studiorum, sententiarum summa consensio. Itaque non tam ista me sapientiæ, quam modo Fannius commemoravit, fama delectat, falsa præsertim, quam quod amicitiæ nostræ memoriam spero sempiternam fore : idque eo mihi magis est cordi, quod ex omnibus sæculis vix tria aut quattuor nominantur paria amicorum : quo in genere sperare videor Scipionis et Lælii amicitiam notam posteritati fore. 16. FANN. Istud quidem, Læli, ita necesse est. Sed, quoniam amicitiæ mentionem fecisti et sumus otiosi, pergratum mihi feceris, (spero item Scævolæ) si, quemadmodum soles de ceteris rebus, quum ex te quæruntur, sic de amicitia disputaris, quid sentias, qualem existimes, quæ præcepta des. SCÆV. Mihi vero : atque, id ipsum quum tecum agere conarer, Fannius antevertit : quamobrem utrique nostrum gratum admodum feceris.

V. 17. LÆL. Ego vero non gravarer, si mihi ipse confiderem : nam et præclara res est, et sumus, ut dixit Fannius, otiosi. Sed quis ego sum ? aut quæ est in me facultas ? Doctorum est ista consuetudo, eaque Græcorum, ut iis ponatur, de quo disputent quamvis subito. Magnum opus est, egetque exercitatione non parva. Quamobrem quæ disputari de amicitia possunt, ab eis, censeo, petatis, qui ista profitentur : ego vos hortari tantum possum, ut amicitiam omnibus rebus humanis anteponatis. Nihil est enim tam naturæ aptum, tam conveniens ad res vel secundas, vel adversas. 18. Sed hoc primum sentio, nisi in bonis amicitiam esse non posse. Neque id ad vivum reseco, ut illi, qui hæc subtilius disserunt, fortasse vere, sed ad communem utilitatem parum. Negant enim, quenquam esse virum bonum, nisi sapientem. Sit ita sane : sed eam sapientiam interpretantur, quam adhuc mortalis nemo est consecutus ; nos autem ea, quæ sunt in usu vitaque communi, non ea, quæ finguntur aut optantur, spectare debemus. Nunquam ego dicam, C. Fabricium, M.' Curium, Ti. Coruncanium, quos sapientes nostri majores judicabant, ad istorum normam fuisse sapientes. Quare sibi habeant sapientiæ nomen, et invidiosum et obscurum ; concedantque, ut hi boni viri fuerint. Ne id quidem facient ; negabunt, id, nisi sapienti, posse concedi. Agamus igitur pingui, ut aiunt, Minerva. 19. Qui ita se gerunt, ita vivunt, ut eorum probetur fides, integritas, æquitas, nec sit in eis ulla cupiditas, libido, audacia, sintque magna constantia, ut ii fuerunt, modo quos nominavi : hos viros bonos, ut habiti sunt, sic etiam appellandos putemus,

quia sequuntur, quantum homines possunt, naturam, optimam bene vivendi ducem. Sic enim mihi perspicere videor, ita natos esse nos, ut inter omnes esset societas quædam, major autem, ut quisque proxime accederet. Itaque cives potiores quam peregrini; propinqui quam alieni: cum his enim amicitiam natura ipsa peperit; sed ea non satis habet firmitatis. Namque hoc præstat amicitia propinquitati, quod ex propinquitate benevolentia tolli potest, ex amicitia non potest; sublata enim benevolentia, amicitiæ nomen tollitur, propinquitatis manet. 20. Quanta autem vis amicitiæ sit, ex hoc intelligi maxime potest, quod ex infinita societate generis humani, quam conciliavit ipsa natura, ita contracta res est et adducta in angustum, ut omnis caritas aut inter duos aut inter paucos jungeretur.

VI. Est enim amicitia nihil aliud, nisi omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum, cum benevolentia et caritate, consensio: qua quidem haud scio an, excepta sapientia, quidquam melius sit homini a Diis immortalibus datum. Divitias alii præponunt, bonam alii valetudinem, alii potentiam, alii honores; multi etiam voluptates. Belluarum hoc quidem extremum: illa autem superiora caduca et incerta, posita non tam in consiliis nostris, quam in fortunæ temeritate. Qui autem in virtute summum bonum ponunt, præclare illi quidem; sed hæc ipsa virtus amicitiam et gignit et continet; nec sine virtute amicitia esse ullo pacto potest. 21. Jam virtutem ex consuetudine vitæ sermonisque nostri interpretemur, nec eam, ut quidam docti, verborum magnificentia metiamur; virosque bonos eos, qui habentur, numeremus, Paullos, Catones, Gallos, Scipiones, Philos: his communis vita contenta est: eos autem omittamus, qui omnino nusquam reperiuntur. Tales igitur inter viros amicitia tantas opportunitates habet, quantas vix queo dicere. 22. Principio, qui potest esse vita vitalis, ut ait Ennius, quæ non in amici mutua benevolentia conquiescat? Quid dulcius, quam habere, quicum omnia audeas sic loqui, ut tecum? Quis esset tantus fructus in prosperis rebus, nisi haberes, qui illis æque, ac tu ipse, gauderet? Adversas vero ferre difficile esset sine eo, qui illas gravius etiam, quam tu, ferret. Denique ceteræ res, quæ expetuntur, opportunæ sunt singulæ rebus fere singulis; divitiæ, ut utare, opes, ut colare, honores, ut laudere, voluptates, ut gaudeas, valetudo, ut dolore careas et muneribus fungare corporis: amicitia res plurimas continet. Quoquo te verteris, præsto est; nullo loco excluditur; nunquam intempestiva, nunquam molesta est. Itaque non aqua, non igni, ut aiunt, pluribus locis utimur, quam amicitia. Neque ego nunc

de vulgari aut de mediocri, quæ tamen ipsa et delectat et prodest, sed de vera et perfecta loquor, qualis eorum, qui pauci nominantur, fuit. Nam et secundas res splendidiores facit amicitia, et adversas partiens communicansque leviores.

VII. 23. Quumque plurimas et maximas commoditates amicitia contineat, tum illa nimirum præstat omnibus, quod bona spe prælucet in posterum, nec debilitari animos aut cadere patitur. Verum etiam amicum qui intuetur, tanquam exemplar aliquod intuetur sui. Quocirca et absentes adsunt, et egentes abundant, et imbecilli valent, et, quod difficilius dictu est, mortui vivunt : tantus eos honos, memoria, desiderium prosequitur amicorum. Ex quo illorum beata mors videtur ; horum vita laudabilis. Quod si exemeris ex rerum natura benevolentiæ conjunctionem, nec domus ulla nec urbs stare poterit ; ne agri quidem cultus permanebit. Id si minus intelligitur, quanta vis amicitiæ concordiæque sit, ex dissensionibus atque discordiis percipi potest. Quæ enim domus tam stabilis, quæ tam firma civitas est, quæ non odiis atque dissidiis funditus possit everti ? Ex quo, quantum boni sit in amicitia, judicari potest. 24. Agrigentinum quidem doctum quendam virum carminibus Græcis vaticinatum ferunt, quæ in rerum natura totoque mundo constarent, quæque moverentur, ea contrahere amicitiam, dissipare discordiam. Atque hoc quidem omnes mortales et intelligunt, et re probant. Itaque, si quando aliquod officium exstitit amici in periculis aut adeundis aut communicandis, quis est, qui id non maximis efferat laudibus ? Qui clamores tota cavea nuper in hospitis et amici mei, M. Pacuvii, nova fabula : quum, ignorante Rege, uter eorum esset Orestes, Pylades Orestem esse se diceret, ut pro illo necaretur ; Orestes autem, ita ut erat, Orestem se esse perseveraret ! Stantes plaudebant in re ficta : quid arbitramur in vera facturos fuisse ? Facile indicabat ipsa natura vim suam, quum homines, quod facere ipsi non possent, id recte fieri in altero judicarent. Hactenus mihi videor, de amicitia quid sentirem, potuisse dicere. Si qua præterea sunt, (credo autem esse multa :) ab iis, si videbitur, qui ista disputant, quæritote. 25. FANN. Nos vero a te potius : quanquam etiam ab istis sæpe quæsivi, et audivi non invitus equidem ; sed aliud quoddam filum orationis tuæ. SCÆV. Tum magis id diceres, Fanni, si nuper in hortis Scipionis, quum est de re publica disputatum, affuisses. Qualis tum patronus justitiæ fuit, contra accuratam orationem Phili ! FANN. Facile id quidem fuit, justitiam justissimo viro defendere. SCÆV. Quid amicitiam ? Nonne facile ei, qui ob eam

summa fide, constantia, justitiaque servatam maximam gloriam ceperit?

VIII. 26. LÆL. Vim hoc quidem est afferre. Quid enim refert, qua me ratione cogatis? Cogitis certe. Studiis enim generorum, præsertim in re bona, quum difficile est, tum ne æquum quidem, obsistere.

Sæpissime igitur mihi de amicitia cogitanti, maxime illud considerandum videri solet, num propter imbecillitatem atque inopiam desiderata sit amicitia, ut dandis recipiendisque meritis, quod quisque minus per se ipse posset, id acciperet ab alio, vicissimque redderet: an esset hoc quidem proprium amicitiæ, sed antiquior et pulchrior et magis a natura ipsa profecta alia causa. Amor enim, ex quo amicitia nominata est, princeps est ad benevolentiam conjungendam. Nam utilitates quidem etiam ab iis percipiuntur sæpe, qui simulatione amicitiæ coluntur et observantur temporis causa: in amicitia autem nihil fictum est, nihil simulatum, et, quidquid est, id et est verum et voluntarium. 27. Quapropter a natura mihi videtur potius, quam ab indigentia, orta amicitia, applicatione magis animi cum quodam sensu amandi, quam cogitatione, quantum illa res utilitatis esset habitura. Quod quidem quale sit, etiam in bestiis quibusdam animadverti potest, quæ ex se natos ita amant ad quoddam tempus, et ab eis ita amantur, ut facile earum sensus appareat. Quod in homine multo est evidentius; primum ex ea caritate, quæ est inter natos et parentes; quæ dirimi, nisi detestabili scelere, non potest; deinde, quum similis sensus exstitit amoris, si aliquem nacti sumus, cujus cum moribus et natura congruamus, quod in eo quasi lumen aliquod probitatis et virtutis perspicere videamur. 28. Nihil est enim virtute amabilius: nihil, quod magis alliciat ad diligendum, quippe quum, propter virtutem et probitatem, etiam eos quos nunquam vidimus, quodam modo diligamus. Quis est, qui C. Fabricii, M.' Curii non cum caritate aliqua benevolentiæ memoriam usurpet, quos nunquam viderit? Quis autem est, qui Tarquinium Superbum qui Sp. Cassium, Sp. Mælium non oderit? Cum duobus ducibus de imperio in Italia decertatum est, Pyrrho et Hannibale: ab altero, propter probitatem ejus, non nimis alienos animos habemus; alterum propter crudelitatem semper hæc civitas oderit.

IX. 29. Quod si tanta vis probitatis est, ut eam vel in eis, quos nunquam vidimus, vel, quod majus est, in hoste etiam diligamus: quid mirum, si animi hominum moveantur quum eorum, quibuscum usu conjuncti esse possunt, virtutem et

bonitatem perspicere videantur? Quanquam confirmatur amor et beneficio accepto, et studio perspecto, et consuetudine adjuncta: quibus rebus ad illum primum motum animi et amoris adhibitis, admirabilis quædam exardescit benevolentiæ magnitudo: quam si qui putant ab imbecillitate proficisci, ut sit per quem assequatur, quod quisque desideret; humilem sane relinquunt, et minime generosum, ut ita dicam, ortum amicitiæ, quam ex inopia atque indigentia natam volunt. Quod si ita esset, ut quisque minimum in se esse arbitraretur, ita ad amicitiam esset aptissimus: quod longe secus est. 30. Ut enim quisque sibi plurimum confidit, et ut quisque maxime virtute et sapientia sic munitus est, ut nullo egeat, suaque omnia in se ipso posita judicet, ita in amicitiis expetendis colendisque maxime excellit. Quid enim? Africanus indigens mei? Minime hercle: ac ne ego quidem illius: sed ego admiratione quadam virtutis ejus, ille vicissim opinione fortasse nonnulla, quam de meis moribus habebat, me dilexit; auxit benevolentiam consuetudo. Sed quanquam utilitates multæ et magnæ consecutæ sunt, non sunt tamen ab earum spe causæ diligendi profectæ. 31. Ut enim benefici liberalesque sumus, non ut exigamus gratiam, (neque enim beneficium feneramur) sed natura propensi ad liberalitatem sumus: sic amicitiam non spe mercedis adducti, sed quod omnis ejus fructus in ipso amore inest, expetendam putamus. 32. Ab his, qui pecudum ritu ad voluptatem omnia referunt, longe dissentiunt; nec mirum. Nihil enim altum, nihil magnificum ac divinum suspicere possunt, qui suas omnes cogitationes abjecerunt in rem tam humilem tamque contemptam. Quamobrem hos quidem ab hoc sermone removeamus: ipsi autem intelligamus, natura gigni sensum diligendi et benevolentiæ caritatem, facta significatione probitatis: quam qui appetiverunt, applicant se et propius admovent, ut et usu ejus, quem diligere cœperint, fruantur, et moribus; suntque pares in amore, et æquales; propensioresque ad bene merendum, quam ad reposcendum; atque hæc inter eos fit honesta certatio. Sic et utilitates ex amicitia maximæ capientur; et erit ejus ortus a natura, quam ab imbecillitate, gravior et verior. Nam utilitas si amicitias conglutinaret, eadem commutata dissolveret; sed quia natura mutari non potest, idcirco veræ amicitiæ sempiternæ sunt. Ortum quidem amicitiæ videtis, nisi quid ad hæc forte vultis. FANN. Tu vero perge, Læli. Pro hoc enim, qui minor est natu, meo jure respondeo. 33. SCÆV. Recte tu quidem. Quamobrem audiamus.

X. LÆL. Audite ergo, optimi viri, ea quæ sæpissime inter

me et Scipionem de amicitia disserebantur. Quanquam ille quidem nihil difficilius esse dicebat quam amicitiam usque ad extremum vitæ diem permanere. Nam vel, ut non idem expediret utrique, incidere sæpe; vel, ut de republica non idem sentiretur; mutari etiam mores hominum sæpe dicebat, alias adversis rebus, alias ætate ingravescente. Atque earum rerum exemplum ex similitudine capiebat ineuntis ætatis, quod summi puerorum amores sæpe una cum prætexta toga ponerentur: 34. sin autem ad adolescentiam perduxissent; dirimi tamen interdum contentione vel uxoriæ conditionis, vel commodi alicujus, quod idem adipisci uterque non posset. Quod si qui longius in amicitia provecti essent, tamen sæpe labefactari, si in honoris contentionem incidissent; pestem enim nullam majorem esse amicitiis, quam in plerisque pecuniæ cupiditatem, in optimis quibusque honoris certamen et gloriæ, ex quo inimicitias maximas sæpe inter amicissimos exstitisse. 35. Magna enim discidia, et plerumque justa nasci, quum aliquid ab amicis, quod rectum non esset, postularetur: ut aut libidinis ministri, aut adjutores essent ad injuriam. Quod qui recusarent, quamvis honeste id facerent, jus tamen amicitiæ deserere arguerentur ab iis, quibus obsequi nollent: illos autem, qui quidvis ab amico auderent postulare, postulatione ipsa profiteri, omnia se amici causa esse facturos. Eorum querela inveteratas non modo familiaritates exstingui solere, sed odia etiam gigni sempiterna. Hæc ita multa, quasi fata impendere amicitiis ut omnia subterfugere non modo sapientiæ, sed etiam felicitatis diceret sibi videri.

XI. 36. Quamobrem id primum videamus, si placet, quatenus amor in amicitia progredi debeat. Num, si Coriolanus habuit amicos, ferre contra patriam arma illi cum Coriolano debuerunt? Num Viscellinum amici, regnum appetentem, num Sp. Mælium debuerunt juvare? 37. Ti. quidem Gracchum, rem publicam vexantem, a Q. Tuberone æqualibusque amicis derelictum videbamus. At C. Blossius Cumanus, hospes familiæ vestræ, Scævola, quum ad me, quod aderam Lænati et Rupilio Consulibus in consilio, deprecatum venisset, hanc, ut sibi ignoscerem, causam afferebat, quod tanti Ti. Gracchum fecisset, ut, quidquid ille vellet, sibi faciendum putaret. Tum ego, *Etiamne, si te in Capitolium faces ferre vellet? Nunquam*, inquit, *voluisset id quidem; sed, si voluisset, paruissem.* Videtis, quam nefaria vox. Et hercule ita fecit, vel plus etiam, quam dixit. Non enim paruit ille Ti. Gracchi temeritati, sed præfuit: nec se comitem illius furoris, sed ducem præbuit. Itaque hac amentia, quæstione nova perterritus, in Asiam profugit, ad

hostes se contulit, pœnas rei publicæ graves justasque persolvit. Nulla est igitur excusatio peccati, si amici causa peccaveris; nam, quum conciliatrix amicitiæ virtutis opinio fuerit, difficile est amicitiam manere, si a virtute defeceris. 38. Quod si rectum statuerimus, vel concedere amicis, quidquid velint, vel impetrare ab eis, quidquid velimus, perfecta quidem sapientia si simus, nihil habeat res vitii: sed loquimur de iis amicis, qui ante oculos sunt, quos vidimus, aut de quibus memoriam accepimus, aut quos novit vita communis. Ex hoc numero nobis exempla sumenda sunt: et eorum quidem maxime, qui ad sapientiam proxime accedunt. 39. Videmus Papum Æmilium C. Luscino familiarem fuisse, (sic a patribus accepimus,) bis una Consules, et collegas in Censura: tum et cum iis, et inter se, conjunctissimos fuisse M.' Curium et Ti. Coruncanium, memoriæ proditum est. Igitur ne suspicari quidem possumus, quenquam horum ab amico quidpiam contendisse, quod contra fidem, contra jusjurandum, contra rem publicam esset. Nam hoc quidem in talibus viris quid attinet dicere, si contendisset, impetraturum non fuisse; quum illi sanctissimi viri fuerint, æque autem nefas sit, tale aliquid et facere rogatum, et rogare? At vero Ti. Gracchum sequebantur C. Carbo, C. Cato, et minime tunc quidem Caius frater, nunc idem acerrimus.

XII. 40. Hæc igitur lex in amicitia sanciatur, ut neque rogemus res turpes, nec faciamus rogati. Turpis enim excusatio est et minime accipienda, quum in ceteris peccatis, tum si quis contra rem publicam se amici causa fecisse fateatur. Etenim eo loco, Fanni et Scævola, locati sumus, ut nos longe prospicere oporteat futuros casus rei publicæ. Deflexit jam aliquantulum de spatio curriculoque consuetudo majorum. 41. Ti. Gracchus regnum occupare conatus est; vel regnavit is quidem paucos menses. Num quid simile populus Romanus audierat aut viderat? Hunc etiam post mortem secuti amici et propinqui, quid in P. Scipione effecerint, sine lacrimis non queo dicere. Nam Carbonem, quoquo modo potuimus, propter recentem pœnam Ti. Gracchi, sustinuimus; de C. autem Gracchi tribunatu quid exspectem, non libet augurari. Serpit deinde res, quæ proclivius ad perniciem, quum semel cœpit, labitur. Videtis, in tabella jam ante quanta sit facta labes, primo Gabinia lege, biennio autem post, Cassia. Videre jam videor populum a Senatu disjunctum, multitudinis arbitrio res maximas agi. Plures enim discent, quemadmodum hæc fiant, quam quemadmodum his resistatur. 42. Quorsum hæc? Quia sine sociis nemo quidquam tale conatur. Præcipiendum est

igitur bonis, ut, si in ejusmodi amicitias ignari casu aliquo inciderint, ne existiment ita se alligatos, ut ab amicis in magnam aliquam rem publicam peccantibus non discedant; improbis autem pœna statuenda est, nec vero minor iis, qui sequuti erunt alterum, quam iis, qui ipsi fuerint impietatis duces. Quis clarior in Græcia Themistocle? quis potentior? Qui quum imperator bello Persico servitute Græciam liberasset, propterque invidiam in exsilium expulsus esset, ingratæ patriæ injuriam non tulit, quam ferre debuit: fecit idem, quod xx annis ante apud nos fecerat Coriolanus. His adjutor contra patriam inventus est nemo; itaque sibi mortem uterque conscivit. 43. Quare talis improborum consensio non modo excusatione amicitiæ tegenda non est, sed potius omni supplicio vindicanda est, ut ne quis concessum putet amicum, vel bellum patriæ inferentem, sequi: quod quidem, ut res cœpit ire, haud scio, an aliquando futurum sit. Mihi autem non minori curæ est qualis res publica post mortem meam futura sit, quam qualis hodie sit.

XIII. 44. Hæc igitur prima lex amicitiæ sanciatur, ut ab amicis honesta petamus, amicorum causa honesta faciamus: ne exspectemus quidem dum rogemur: studium semper adsit, cunctatio absit: consilium vero dare audeamus libere. Plurimum in amicitia amicorum bene suadentium valeat auctoritas: eaque et adhibeatur ad monendum non modo aperte, sed etiam acriter, si res postulabit, et adhibitæ pareatur.

45. Nam quibusdam, quos audio sapientes habitos in Græcia, placuisse opinor mirabilia quædam: (sed nihil est, quod illi non persequantur argutiis:) partim fugiendas esse nimias amicitias, ne necesse sit unum sollicitum esse pro pluribus: satis superque esse suarum cuique rerum; alienis nimis implicari molestum esse; commodissimum esse, quam laxissimas habenas habere amicitiæ, quas vel adducas, quum velis, vel remittas; caput enim esse ad beate vivendum securitatem, qua frui non possit animus, si tanquam parturiat unus pro pluribus. 46. Alios autem dicere aiunt multo etiam inhumanius, (quem locum breviter perstrinxi paullo ante:) præsidii adjumentique causa, non benevolentiæ neque caritatis, amicitias esse expetendas; itaque ut quisque minimum firmitatis habeat minimumque virium, ita amicitias appetere maxime: ex eo fieri, ut mulierculæ magis amicitiarum præsidia quærant, quam viri: et inopes, quam opulenti, et calamitosi, quam ii qui putantur beati. 47. O præclaram sapientiam! Solem enim e mundo tollere videntur, qui amicitiam e vita tollunt, qua nihil a Diis immortalibus melius habemus, nihil jucundius. Quæ est enim

ista securitas? species quidem blanda, sed reapse multis locis repudianda. Neque enim est consentaneum ullam honestam rem actionemve, ne sollicitus sis, aut non suscipere aut susceptam deponere. Quod si curam fugimus, virtus fugienda est; quæ necesse est cum aliqua cura res sibi contrarias aspernetur atque oderit, ut bonitas malitiam, temperantia libidinem, ignaviam fortitudo. Itaque videas rebus injustis justos maxime dolere, imbellibus fortes, flagitiosis modestos. Ergo hoc proprium est animi bene constituti, et lætari bonis rebus, et dolere contrariis. 48. Quamobrem si cadit in sapientem animi dolor (qui profecto cadit, nisi ex ejus animo exstirpatam humanitatem arbitramur), quæ causa est, cur amicitiam funditus tollamus e vita, ne aliquas propter eam suscipiamus molestias? Quid enim interest, motu animi sublato, non dico inter pecudem et hominem, sed inter hominem et truncum, aut saxum, aut quidvis generis ejusdem? Neque enim sunt isti audiendi, qui virtutem duram et quasi ferream esse quandam volunt: quæ quidem est quum multis in rebus, tum in amicitia tenera atque tractabilis, ut et bonis amici quasi diffundantur, et incommodis contrahantur. Quamobrem angor iste, qui pro amico sæpe capiendus est, non tantum valet, ut tollat e vita amicitiam: non plus, quam ut virtutes, quia nonnullas curas et molestias afferunt, repudientur.

XIV. Quum autem contrahat amicitiam, ut supra dixi, si qua significatio virtutis eluceat, ad quam se similis animus applicet et adjungat: id quum contingit, amor exoriatur necesse est. 49. Quid enim tam absurdum, quam delectari multis inanibus rebus, ut honore, ut gloria, ut ædificio, ut vestitu cultuque corporis; animo autem virtute prædito, eo qui vel amare, vel (ut ita dicam) redamare possit, non admodum delectari? Nihil est enim remuneratione benevolentiæ, nihil vicissitudine studiorum officiorumque jucundius. 50. Quid? si illud etiam addimus, quod recte addi potest, nihil esse, quod ad se rem ullam tam alliciat et tam attrahat, quam ad amicitiam similitudo: concedetur profecto verum esse, ut bonos boni diligant adsciscantque sibi quasi propinquitate conjunctos atque natura. Nihil est enim appetentius similium sui, nec rapacius, quam natura. Quamobrem hoc quidem, Fanni et Scævola, constat, ut opinor, bonis inter bonos quasi necessariam benevolentiam; qui est amicitiæ fons a natura constitutus. Sed eadem bonitas etiam ad multitudinem pertinet. Non enim est inhumana virtus, neque immunis, neque superba: quæ etiam populos universos tueri, eisque optime consulere soleat: quod

non faceret profecto, si a caritate vulgi abhorreret. 51. Atque etiam mihi quidem videntur, qui utilitatis causa fingunt amicitias, amabilissimum nodum amicitiæ tollere. Non enim tam utilitas parta per amicum, quam amici amor ipse delectat: tumque illud fit, quod ab amico est profectum, jucundum, si cum studio est profectum: tantumque abest, ut amicitiæ propter indigentiam colantur, ut ii, qui opibus et copiis, maximeque virtute, in qua plurimum est præsidii, minime alterius indigeant, liberalissimi sint et beneficentissimi. Atque haud sciam, an ne opus sit quidem, nihil unquam omnino deesse amicis. Ubi enim studia nostra viguissent, si nunquam consilio, nunquam opera nostra, nec domi nec militiæ, Scipio eguisset? Non igitur utilitatem amicitia, sed utilitas amicitiam consecuta est.

XV. 52. Non ergo erunt homines deliciis diffluentes audiendi, si quando de amicitia, quam nec usu nec ratione habent cognitam, disputabunt. Nam quis est, pro Deorum fidem atque hominum! qui velit, ut neque diligat quenquam, nec ipse ab ullo diligatur, circumfluere omnibus copiis atque in omnium rerum abundantia vivere? Hæc enim est tyrannorum vita nimirum; in qua nulla fides, nulla caritas, nulla stabilis benevolentiæ potest esse fiducia, omnia semper suspecta atque sollicita, nullus locus amicitiæ. 53. Quis enim aut eum diligat, quem metuat; aut eum, a quo se metui putet? Coluntur tamen simulatione duntaxat ad tempus. Quod si forte, ut fit plerumque, ceciderint, tum intelligitur, quam fuerint inopes amicorum. Quod Tarquinium dixisse ferunt, exsulantem se intellexisse, quos fidos amicos habuisset, quos infidos, quum jam neutris gratiam referre posset. 54. Quanquam miror, illa superbia et importunitate si quenquam amicum habere potuit. Atque ut hujus, quem dixi, mores veros amicos parare non potuere, sic multorum opes præpotentium excludunt amicitias fideles. Non enim solum ipsa Fortuna cæca est, sed eos etiam plerumque efficit cæcos, quos complexa est. Itaque efferuntur fere fastidio et contumacia: nec quidquam insipiente fortunato intolerabilius fieri potest. Atque hoc quidem videre licet, eos, qui antea commodis fuerint moribus, imperio, potestate, prosperis rebus immutari, sperni ab iis veteres amicitias, indulgeri novis. 55. Quid autem stultius, quam, quum plurimum copiis, facultatibus, opibus possint, cetera parare, quæ parantur pecunia, equos, famulos, vestem egregiam, vasa pretiosa; amicos non parare, optimam et pulcherrimam vitæ, ut ita dicam, supellectilem? Etenim cetera

quum parantur, cui parentur, nesciunt, nec cujus causa laborent:—ejus enim est istorum quidque, qui vincit viribus: amicitiarum sua cuique permanet stabilis et certa possessio: ut, etiamsi illa maneant, quæ sunt quasi dona Fortunæ, tamen vita inculta et deserta ab amicis non possit esse jucunda. Sed hæc hactenus.

XVI. 56. Constituendi sunt autem, qui sint in amicitia fines et quasi termini diligendi. De quibus tres video sententias ferri, quarum nullam probo: unam, ut eodem modo erga amicum affecti simus, quo erga nosmetipsos; alteram, ut nostra in amicos benevolentia illorum erga nos benevolentiæ pariter æqualiterque respondeat; tertiam, ut, quanti quisque se ipse facit, tanti fiat ab amicis. Harum trium sententiarum nulli prorsus assentior. Nec enim illa prima vera est, ut, quemadmodum in se quisque, sic in amicum sit animatus. 57. Quam multa enim, quæ nostri causa nunquam faceremus, facimus amicorum? precari ab indigno, supplicare, tum acerbius in aliquem invehi, insectarique vehementius; quæ in nostris rebus non satis honeste, in amicorum fiunt honestissime: multæque res sunt, in quibus de suis commodis viri boni multa detrahunt detrahique patiuntur, ut iis amici potius, quam ipsi, fruantur. 58. Altera sententia est, quæ definit amicitiam paribus officiis ac voluntatibus. Hoc quidem est nimis exigue et exiliter ad calculos vocare amicitiam, ut par sit ratio acceptorum et datorum. Divitior mihi et affluentior videtur esse vera amicitia: nec observare restricte, ne plus reddat, quam acceperit. Neque enim verendum est, ne quid excidat, aut ne quid in terram defluat, aut ne plus æquo quid in amicitiam congeratur. 59. Tertius vero ille finis deterrimus, ut, quanti quisque se ipse faciat, tanti fiat ab amicis. Sæpe enim in quibusdam aut animus abjectior est, aut spes amplificandæ fortunæ fractior. Non est igitur amici, talem esse in eum, qualis ille in se est, sed potius eniti et efficere, ut amici jacentem animum excitet, inducatque in spem cogitationemque meliorem. Alius igitur finis veræ amicitiæ constituendus est, si prius, quid maxime reprehendere Scipio solitus sit, edixero. Negabat, ullam vocem inimiciorem amicitiæ potuisse reperiri, quam ejus, qui dixisset, ita amare oportere, ut si aliquando esset osurus; nec vero se adduci posse, ut hoc, quemadmodum putaretur, a Biante esse dictum crederet, qui sapiens habitus esset unus e Septem: impuri cujusdam, aut ambitiosi, aut omnia ad suam potentiam revocantis esse sententiam. Quonam enim modo quisquam amicus esse poterit ejus, cui se putabit inimicum esse posse?

Quin etiam necesse erit cupere et optare, ut quam sæpissime peccet amicus, quo plures det sibi tanquam ansas ad reprehendendum; rursum autem recte factis commodisque amicorum necesse erit angi, dolere, invidere. 60. Quare hoc quidem præceptum, cujuscunque est, ad tollendam amicitiam valet. Illud potius præcipiendum fuit, ut eam diligentiam adhiberemus in amicitiis comparandis, ut ne quando amare inciperemus eum, quem aliquando odisse possemus. Quin etiam si minus felices in diligendo fuissemus, ferendum id Scipio potius quam inimicitiarum tempus cogitandum putabat.

XVII. 61. His igitur finibus utendum arbitror, ut, quum emendati mores amicorum sint, tum sit inter eos omnium rerum, consiliorum, voluntatum sine ulla exceptione communitas: ut, etiam si qua fortuna acciderit, ut minus justæ amicorum voluntates adjuvandæ sint, in quibus eorum aut caput agatur aut fama, declinandum sit de via, modo ne summa turpitudo sequatur. Est enim, quatenus amicitiæ dari venia possit. Nec vero negligenda est fama, nec mediocre telum ad res gerendas existimare oportet benevolentiam civium: quam blanditiis et assentando colligere turpe est: virtus, quam sequitur caritas, minime repudianda est.

62. Sed (sæpe enim redeo ad Scipionem, cujus omnis sermo erat de amicitia) querebatur, quod omnibus in rebus homines diligentiores essent: capras et oves quot quisque haberet, dicere posse, amicos quot haberet, non posse dicere; et in illis quidem parandis adhibere curam, in amicis eligendis negligentes esse, nec habere quasi signa quædam et notas, quibus eos, qui ad amicitiam essent idonei, judicarent. Sunt igitur firmi et stabiles et constantes eligendi; cujus generis est magna penuria: et judicare difficile est sane, nisi expertum; experiendum est autem in ipsa amicitia: ita præcurrit amicitia judicium, tollitque experiendi potestatem. 63. Est igitur prudentis sustinere, ut currum, sic impetum benevolentiæ: quo utamur, quasi equis tentatis, sic amicitiis, aliqua parte periclitatis moribus amicorum. Quidam sæpe in parva pecunia perspiciuntur quam sint leves: quidam autem, quos parva movere non potuit, cognoscuntur in magna. Sin erunt aliqui reperti, qui pecuniam præferre amicitiæ sordidum existiment, ubi eos inveniemus, qui honores, magistratus, imperia, potestates, opes, amicitiæ non anteponant, ut, quum ex altera parte proposita hæc sint, ex altera jus amicitiæ, non multo illa malint? Imbecilla enim est natura ad contemnendam potentiam; quam etiamsi neglecta amicitia consecuti sunt, obscuratum iri arbitrantur, quia non sine magna

causa sit neglecta amicitia. 64. Itaque veræ amicitiæ difficillime reperiuntur in iis, qui in honoribus reque publica versantur. Ubi enim istum invenias, qui honorem amici anteponat suo? Quid? hæc ut omittam, quam graves, quam difficiles plerisque videntur calamitatum societates! ad quas non est facile inventu qui descendant. Quanquam Ennius recte:

Amicus certus in re incerta cernitur;

tamen hæc duo levitatis et infirmitatis plerosque convincunt, aut si in bonis rebus contemnunt, aut in malis deserunt.

XVIII. Qui igitur utraque in re gravem, constantem, stabilem se in amicitia præstiterit, hunc ex maxime raro hominum genere judicare debemus, et pæne divino.

65. Firmamentum autem stabilitatis constantiæque est ejus, quam in amicitia quærimus, fides. Nihil stabile est enim, quod infidum est. Simplicem præterea, et communem, et consentientem, id est, qui rebus eisdem moveatur, eligi par est: quæ omnia pertinent ad fidelitatem. Neque enim fidum potest esse multiplex ingenium et tortuosum; neque vero, qui non eisdem rebus movetur, naturaque consentit, aut fidus aut stabilis potest esse. Addendum eodem est, ut ne criminibus, aut inferendis delectetur, aut credat oblatis: quæ pertinent omnia ad eam, quam jamdudum tracto, constantiam. Ita fit verum illud, quod initio dixi, amicitiam, nisi inter bonos, esse non posse. Est enim boni viri, quem eundem sapientem licet dicere, hæc duo tenere in amicitia: primum, ne quid fictum sit, neve simulatum; aperte enim vel odisse, magis ingenui est, quam fronte occultare sententiam; deinde, non solum ab aliquo allatas criminationes repellere, sed ne ipsum quidem esse suspiciosum, semper aliquid existimantem ab amico esse violatum. 66. Accedat huc suavitas quædam oportet sermonum atque morum, haudquaquam mediocre condimentum amicitiæ. Tristitia autem et in omni re severitas, habet illa quidem gravitatem: sed amicitia remissior esse debet et liberior et dulcior et ad omnem comitatem facilitatemque proclivior.

XIX. 67. Exsistit autem hoc loco quædam quæstio subdifficilis: num quando amici novi, digni amicitia, veteribus sint anteponendi, ut equis vetulis teneros anteponere solemus. Indigna homine dubitatio. Non enim debent amicitiarum esse, sicut aliarum rerum, satietates. Veterrima quæque, ut ea vina, quæ vetustatem ferunt, esse debent suavissima: verumque illud est, quod dicitur, multos modios salis simul edendos esse, ut amicitiæ munus expletum sit. 68. Novitates autem, si spem

afferunt, ut, tanquam in herbis non fallacibus, fructus appareat, non sunt illæ quidem repudiandæ: vetustas tamen suo loco conservanda: maxima est enim vis vetustatis et consuetudinis. Quin et in ipso equo, cujus modo feci mentionem, si nulla res impediat, nemo est quin eo, quo consuevit, libentius utatur, quam intractato et novo. Nec vero in hoc, quod est animal, sed in iis etiam, quæ sunt inanima, consuetudo valet: quum locis ipsis delectemur, montuosis etiam et silvestribus, in quibus diutius commorati sumus. 69. Sed maximum est in amicitia parem esse inferiori. Sæpe enim excellentiæ quædam sunt: qualis erat Scipionis in nostro, ut ita dicam, grege. Nunquam se ille Philo, nunquam Rupilio, nunquam Mummio anteposuit, nunquam inferioris ordinis amicis. Q. vero Maximum fratrem, egregium virum omnino, sibi nequaquam parem, quod is anteibat ætate, tanquam superiorem colebat, suosque omnes per se posse esse ampliores volebat. 70. Quod faciendum imitandumque est omnibus, ut, si quam præstantiam virtutis, ingenii, fortunæ consecuti sunt, impertiant ea suis, communicentque cum proximis; ut, si parentibus nati sint humilibus, si propinquos habeant imbecilliores vel animo vel fortuna, eorum augeant opes, eisque honori sint et dignitati: ut in fabulis, qui aliquamdiu propter ignorationem stirpis et generis in famulatu fuerint, quum cogniti sunt, et aut Deorum aut regum filii inventi, retinent tamen caritatem in pastores, quos patres multos annos esse duxerunt. Quod multo profecto magis in veris patribus certisque faciendum. Fructus enim ingenii et virtutis omnisque præstantiæ tum maximus capitur, quum in proximum quemque confertur.

XX. 71. Ut igitur ii, qui sunt in amicitiæ conjunctionisque necessitudine superiores, exæquare se cum inferioribus debent, sic inferiores, non dolere se a suis aut ingenio aut fortuna aut dignitate superari. Quorum plerique aut queruntur semper aliquid, aut etiam exprobrant; eoque magis, si habere se putant, quod officiose et amice et cum labore aliquo suo factum queant dicere: odiosum sane genus hominum, officia exprobrantium: quæ meminisse debet is, in quem collata sunt, non commemorare, qui contulit. 72. Quamobrem ut ii, qui superiores sunt, submittere se debent in amicitia, sic quodam modo inferiores extollere. Sunt enim quidam, qui molestas amicitias faciunt, quum ipsi se contemni putant; quod non fere contingit, nisi iis, qui etiam contemnendos se arbitrantur; qui hac opinione non modo verbis, sed etiam opere levandi sunt. 73. Tantum autem cuique tribuendum,

primum, quantum ipse efficere possis; deinde etiam quantum ille, quem diligas atque adjuves, sustinere. Non enim neque tu possis, quamvis licet excellas, omnes tuos ad honores amplissimos perducere: ut Scipio P. Rupilium potuit Consulem efficere; fratrem ejus Lucium non potuit; quod si etiam possis quidvis deferre ad alterum, videndum est tamen, quid ille possit sustinere. 74. Omnino amicitiæ corroboratis jam confirmatisque et ingeniis et ætatibus judicandæ sunt: nec, si qui ineunte ætate venandi aut pilæ studiosi fuerunt, eos habere necessarios, quos tum eodem studio præditos dilexerunt. Isto enim modo nutrices et pædagogi jure vetustatis plurimum benevolentiæ postulabunt; qui negligendi quidem non sunt, sed alio quodam modo. Aliter amicitiæ stabiles permanere non possunt. Dispares enim mores disparia studia sequuntur, quorum dissimilitudo dissociat amicitias: nec ob aliam causam ullam boni improbis, improbi bonis amici esse non possunt, nisi quod tanta est inter eos, quanta maxima potest esse, morum studiorumque distantia. 75. Recte etiam præcipi potest in amicitiis, ne intemperata quædam benevolentia, quod persæpe fit, impediat magnas utilitates amicorum. Nec enim, ut ad fabulas redeam, Trojam Neoptolemus capere potuisset, si Lycomedem, apud quem erat educatus, multis cum lacrimis iter suum impedientem, audire voluisset; et sæpe incidunt magnæ res, ut discedendum sit ab amicis: quas qui impedire vult, quod desiderium non facile ferat, is et infirmus est mollisque natura, et ob eam ipsam causam in amicitia parum justus. 76. Atque in omni re considerandum est, et quid postules ab amico, et quid patiare a te impetrari.

XXI. Est etiam quasi quædam calamitas in amicitiis dimittendis nonnunquam necessaria: jam enim a sapientium familiaritatibus ad vulgares amicitias oratio nostra delabitur. Erumpunt sæpe vitia amicorum quum in ipsos amicos, tum in alienos, quorum tamen ad amicos redundet infamia. Tales igitur amicitiæ sunt remissione usus eluendæ, et, ut Catonem dicere audivi, dissuendæ magis quam discindendæ: nisi quædam admodum intolerabilis injuria exarserit, ut neque rectum neque honestum sit neque fieri possit, ut non statim alienatio disjunctioque facienda sit. 77. Sin autem aut morum aut studiorum commutatio quædam, ut fieri solet, facta erit, aut in rei publicæ partibus dissensio intercesserit (loquor enim jam, ut paullo ante dixi, non de sapientium; sed de communibus amicitiis), cavendum erit, ne non solum amicitiæ depositæ, sed inimicitiæ etiam susceptæ videantur. Nihil enim turpius quam cum eo bellum

gerere, quicum familiariter vixeris. Ab amicitia Q. Pompeii meo nomine se removerat, ut scitis, Scipio; propter dissensionem autem, quæ erat in re publica, alienatus est a collega nostro Metello: utrumque egit graviter, auctoritate, et offensione animi non acerba. 78. Quamobrem primum danda opera est, ne qua amicorum discidia fiant; sin tale aliquid evenerit, ut extinctæ potius amicitiæ, quam oppressæ esse videantur. Cavendum vero, ne etiam in graves inimicitias convertant se amicitiæ; ex quibus jurgia, maledicta, contumeliæ gignuntur. Quæ tamen si tolerabiles erunt, ferendæ sunt; et hic honos veteri amicitiæ tribuendus est, ut is in culpa sit, qui faciat, non is qui patiatur injuriam. Omnino omnium horum vitiorum atque incommodorum una cautio est atque una provisio, ut ne nimis cito diligere incipiamus, neve non dignos. 79. Digni autem sunt amicitia, quibus in ipsis inest causa, cur diligantur. Rarum genus! et quidem omnia præclara rara; nec quidquam difficilius, quam reperire, quod sit omni ex parte in suo genere perfectum. Sed plerique neque in rebus humanis quidquam bonum norunt, nisi quod fructuosum sit; et amicos, tanquam pecudes, eos potissimum diligunt, ex quibus sperant se maximum fructum esse capturos. 80. Ita pulcherrima illa et maxime naturali carent amicitia, per se et propter se expetita; nec ipsi sibi exemplo sunt, hæc vis amicitiæ qualis et quanta sit. Ipse enim se quisque diligit, non ut aliquam a se ipse mercedem exigat caritatis suæ, sed quod per se sibi quisque carus est. Quod nisi idem in amicitiam transferetur, verus amicus nunquam reperietur: est enim is quidem tanquam alter idem. 81. Quod si hoc apparet in bestiis, volucribus, nantibus, agrestibus, cicuribus, feris, primum ut se diligant (id enim pariter cum omni animante nascitur), deinde, ut requirant atque appetant, ad quas se applicent, ejusdem generis animantes (idque faciunt cum desiderio et cum quadam similitudine amoris humani); quanto id magis in homine fit natura, qui et se ipse diligit, et alterum anquirit, cujus animum ita cum suo misceat, ut efficiat pæne unum ex duobus?

XXII. 82. Sed plerique perverse, ne dicam impudenter, talem amicum habere volunt, quales ipsi esse non possunt: quæque ipsi non tribuunt amicis, hæc ab iis desiderant. Par est autem, primum ipsum esse virum bonum, tum alterum similem sui quærere. In talibus ea, quam jamdudum tractamus, stabilitas amicitiæ confirmari potest, quum homines benevolentia conjuncti, primum cupiditatibus iis, quibus ceteri serviunt, imperabunt; deinde æquitate justitiaque gaudebunt, omniaque

alter pro altero suscipiet, neque quidquam unquam nisi honestum et rectum alter ab altero postulabit; neque solum colent inter se ac diligent, sed etiam verebuntur. Nam maximum ornamentum amicitiæ tollit, qui ex ea tollit verecundiam. 83. Itaque in iis perniciosus est error, qui existimant, libidinum peccatorumque omnium patere in amicitia licentiam. Virtutum amicitia adjutrix a natura data est, non vitiorum comes, ut, quoniam solitaria non posset virtus ad ea, quæ summa sunt, pervenire, conjuncta et consociata cum altera perveniret: quæ si quos inter societas aut est, aut fuit, aut futura est, eorum est habendus ad summum naturæ bonum optimus beatissimusque comitatus. 84. Hæc est, inquam, societas, in qua omnia insunt, quæ putant homines expetenda, honestas, gloria, tranquillitas animi, atque jucunditas: ut et, quum hæc adsint, beata vita sit, et sine his esse non possit. Quod quum optimum maximumque sit, si id volumus adipisci, virtuti opera danda est; sine qua nec amicitiam, neque ullam rem expetendam consequi possumus: ea vero neglecta, qui se amicos habere arbitrantur, tum se denique errasse sentiunt, quum eos gravis aliquis casus experiri cogit. 85. Quocirca, (dicendum est enim sæpius,) quum judicaveris, diligere oportet: non, quum dilexeris, judicare. Sed quum multis in rebus negligentia plectimur, tum maxime in amicis et diligendis et colendis. Præposteris enim utimur consiliis, et acta agimus, quod vetamur veteri proverbio. Nam implicati ultro et citro, vel usu diuturno, vel etiam officiis, repente in medio cursu amicitias, exorta aliqua offensione, disrumpimus.

XXIII. 86. Quo etiam magis vituperanda est rei maxime necessariæ tanta incuria. Una est enim amicitia in rebus humanis, de cujus utilitate omnes uno ore consentiunt: quanquam a multis ipsa virtus contemnitur, et venditatio quædam atque ostentatio esse dicitur. Multi divitias despiciunt, quos, parvo contentos, tenuis victus cultusque delectat; honores vero, quorum cupiditate quidam inflammantur, quam multi ita contemnunt, ut nihil inanius, nihil esse levius existiment. Itemque cetera, quæ quibusdam admirabilia videntur, permulti sunt, qui pro nihilo putent. De amicitia omnes ad unum idem sentiunt, et ii, qui ad rem publicam se contulerunt, et ii, qui rerum cognitione doctrinaque delectantur, et ii, qui suum negotium gerunt otiosi; postremo ii, qui se totos tradiderunt voluptatibus, sine amicitia vitam esse nullam, si modo velint aliqua ex parte liberaliter vivere. 87. Serpit enim, nescio quomodo, per omnium vitas amicitia, nec ullam ætatis degendæ rationem patitur esse

expertem sui. Quin etiam si quis ea asperitate est et immanitate naturæ, congressus ut hominum fugiat atque oderit, qualem fuisse Athenis Timonem nescio quem accepimus; tamen is pati non possit, ut non anquirat aliquem, apud quem evomat virus acerbitatis suæ. Atque hoc maxime judicaretur, si quid tale posset contingere, ut aliquis nos Deus ex hac hominum frequentia tolleret et in solitudine uspiam collocaret, atque ibi suppeditans omnium rerum, quas natura desiderat, abundantiam et copiam, hominis omnino adspiciendi potestatem eriperet. Quis tam esset ferreus, qui eam vitam ferre posset, cuique non auferret fructum voluptatum omnium solitudo? 88. Verum ergo illud est, quod, a Tarentino Archyta, ut opinor, dici solitum nostros senes commemorare audivi, ab aliis senibus auditum, si quis in cælum adscendisset, naturamque mundi et pulchritudinem siderum perspexisset, insuavem illam admirationem ei fore; quæ jucundissima fuisset, si aliquem, cui narraret, habuisset. Sic natura solitarium nihil amat, semperque ad aliquod tanquam adminiculum annititur; quod in amicissimo quoque dulcissimum est.

XXIV. Sed quum tot signis eadem natura declaret, quid velit, anquirat, desideret, obsurdescimus tamen nescio quomodo, nec ea, quæ ab ea monemur, audimus. Est enim varius et multiplex usus amicitiæ, multæque causæ suspicionum offensionumque dantur, quas tum evitare, tum elevare, tum ferre, sapientis est.

Una illa sublevanda offensio est, ut et utilitas in amicitia et fides retineatnr: nam et monendi amici sæpe sunt, et objurgandi, et hæc accipienda amice, quum benevole fiunt. 89. Sed, nescio quomodo, verum est, quod in Andria familiaris meus dicit:

Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit.

Molesta veritas, si quidem ex ea nascitur odium, quod est venenum amicitiæ; sed obsequium multo molestius, quod, peccatis indulgens, præcipitem amicum ferri sinit. Maxima autem culpa in eo, qui et veritatem aspernatur, et in fraudem obsequio impellitur. Omni igitur hac in re habenda ratio et diligentia est; primum, ut monitio acerbitate, deinde ut objurgatio contumelia careat. In obsequio autem (quoniam Terentiano verbo lubenter utimur) comitas adsit: assentatio, vitiorum adjutrix, procul amoveatur: quæ non modo amico, sed ne libero quidem digna est: aliter enim cum tyranno, aliter cum amico vivitur. 90. Cujus autem aures clausæ veritati sunt, ut

ab amico verum audire nequeat, hujus salus desperanda est Scitum est enim illud Catonis, ut multa, melius de quibusdam acerbos inimicos mereri, quam eos amicos, qui dulces videantur: illos verum sæpe dicere, hos nunquam. Atque illud absurdum, quod ii, qui monentur, eam molestiam, quam debent capere, non capiunt, eam capiunt, qua debent vacare. Peccasse enim se non anguntur; objurgari moleste ferunt: quod contra oportebat, delicto dolere, correctione gaudere.

XXV. 91. Ut igitur et monere et moneri proprium est veræ amicitiæ, et alterum libere facere, non aspere, alterum patienter accipere, non repugnanter: sic habendum est, nullam in amicitiis pestem esse majorem, quam adulationem, blanditiam, assentationem. Quamvis enim multis nominibus est hoc vitium notandum, levium hominum atque fallacium, ad voluntatem loquentium omnia, nihil ad veritatem. 92. Quum autem omnium rerum simulatio vitiosa est (tollit enim judicium veri, idque adulterat), tum amicitiæ repugnat maxime: delet enim veritatem, sine qua nomen amicitiæ valere non potest. Nam quum amicitiæ vis sit in eo, ut unus quasi animus fiat ex pluribus, qui id fieri poterit, si ne in uno quidem quoque unus animus erit idemque semper, sed varius, commutabilis, multiplex? 93. Quid enim potest esse tam flexibile, tam devium, quam animus ejus, qui ad alterius non modo sensum ac voluntatem, sed etiam vultum atque nutum convertitur?

Negat quis? nego: ait? aio: postremo imperavi egomet mihi
Omnia assentari,

ut ait idem Terentius; sed ille in Gnathonis persona: quod amici genus adhibere omnino levitatis est. 94. Multi autem Gnathonum similes quum sint, loco, fortuna, fama superiores, horum est assentatio molesta, quum ad vanitatem accessit auctoritas. 95. Secerni autem blandus amicus a vero et internosci tam potest, adhibita diligentia, quam omnia fucata et simulata a sinceris atque veris. Contio, quæ ex imperitissimis constat, tamen judicare solet, quid intersit inter popularem, id est, assentatorem et levem civem, et inter constantem, severum, et gravem. 96. Quibus blanditiis C. Papirius nuper influebat in aures contionis, quum ferret legem de tribunis plebis reficiendis! Dissuasimus nos. Sed nihil de me; de Scipione dicam libentius. Quanta illi, Dii immortales! fuit gravitas! quanta in oratione majestas! ut facile ducem populi Romani, non comitem diceres. Sed affuistis; et est in manibus oratio.

Itaque lex popularis suffragiis populi repudiata est. Atque, ut ad me redeam, meministis, Q. Maximo, fratre Scipionis, et L. Mancino Consulibus, quam popularis lex de sacerdotiis C. Licinii Crassi videbatur! Cooptatio enim collegiorum ad populi beneficium transferebatur. Atque is primum instituit, in forum versus, agere cum populo. Tamen illius vendibilem orationem religio Deorum immortalium, nobis defendentibus, facile vincebat. Atque id actum est prætore me, quinquennio ante quam Consul sum factus. Itaque re magis, quam auctoritate, causa illa defensa est.

XXVI. 97. Quod si in scena, id est, in contione, in qua rebus fictis et adumbratis loci plurimum est, tamen verum valet, si modo id patefactum et illustratum est, quid in amicitia fieri oportet, quæ tota veritate perpenditur? in quâ nisi, ut dicitur, apertum pectus videas, tuumque ostendas, nihil fidum, nihil exploratum habeas; ne amare quidem, aut amari; quum id quam vere fiat ignores. Quanquam ista assentatio, quamvis perniciosa sit, nocere tamen nemini potest, nisi ei, qui eam recipit atque ea delectatur. Ita fit, ut is asentatoribus patefaciat aures suas maxime, qui ipse sibi assentetur et se maxime ipse delectet. 98. Omnino est amans sui virtus; optime enim se ipsa novit, quamque amabilis sit, intelligit. Ego autem non de virtute nunc loquor, sed de virtutis opinione. Virtute enim ipsa non tam multi præditi esse, quam videri volunt. Hos delectat assentatio: his fictus ad ipsorum voluntatem sermo quum adhibetur, orationem illam vanam testimonium esse laudum suarum putant. Nulla est igitur hæc amicitia, quum alter verum audire non vult, alter ad mentiendum paratus est. Nec parasitorum in comœdiis assentatio faceta nobis videretur, nisi essent milites gloriosi.

Magnas vero agere gratias Thais mihi?

Satis erat respondere, *magnas; ingentes*, inquit. Semper auget assentator id, quod is, cujus ad voluntatem dicitur, vult esse magnum. 99. Quamobrem, quanquam blanda ista vanitas apud eos valet, qui ipsi illam allectant et invitant; tamen etiam graviores constantioresque admonendi sunt, ut animadvertant, ne callida assentatione capiantur. Aperte enim adulantem nemo non videt, nisi qui admodum est excors; callidus ille et occultus ne se insinuet, studiose cavendum est; nec enim facillime cognoscitur, quippe qui etiam adversando sæpe assentetur, et, litigare se simulans, blandiatur, atque ad extremum det manus, vincique se patiatur, ut is, qui illusus sit, plus

vidisse videatur. Quid autem turpius, quam illudi? Quod ut ne accidat, cavendum est, ut in Epiclero:

Hodie me ante omnes comicos stultos senes
Versaris atque emunxeris lautissime.

100. Hæc enim etiam in fabulis stultissima persona est improvidorum et credulorum senum. Sed, nescio quo pacto, ab amicitiis perfectorum hominum, id est, sapientium (de hac dico sapientia, quæ videtur in hominem cadere posse), ad leves amicitias defluxit oratio. Quamobrem ad illa prima redeamus, eaque ipsa concludamus aliquando.

XXVII. Virtus, virtus, inquam, C. Fanni, et tu, Q. Muci, et conciliat amicitias et conservat. In ea est enim convenientia rerum, in ea stabilitas, in ea constantia: quæ quum se extulit et ostendit suum lumen, et idem adspexit agnovitque in alio: ad id se admovet, vicissimque accipit illud, quod in altero est: ex quo eorum exardescit sive amor sive amicitia. Utrumque enim dictum est ab amando; amare autem nihil est aliud, nisi eum ipsum diligere, quem ames, nulla indigentia, nulla utilitate quæsita: quæ tamen ipsa efflorescit ex amicitia, etiam si tu eam minus sequutus sis. 101. Hac nos adolescentes benevolentia senes illos L. Paullum, M. Catonem, C. Gallum, P. Nasicam, Ti. Gracchum, Scipionis nostri socerum, dileximus. Hæc etiam magis elucet inter æquales, ut inter me et Scipionem, L. Furium, P. Rupilium, Sp. Mummium. Vicissim autem senes in adolescentium caritate acquiescimus, ut in vestra, ut in Q. Tuberonis; equidem etiam admodum adolescentis, P. Rutilii, A. Virginii familiaritate delector. Quoniamque ita ratio comparata est vitæ naturæque nostræ, ut alia ætas oriatur; maxime quidem optandum est, ut cum æqualibus possis, quibuscum tanquam e carceribus emissus sis, cum iisdem ad calcem, ut dicitur, pervenire. 102. Sed quoniam res humanæ fragiles caducæque sunt, semper aliqui anquirendi sunt, quos diligamus et a quibus diligamur: caritate enim benevolentiaque sublata, omnis est e vita sublata jucunditas. Mihi quidem Scipio, quanquam est subito ereptus, vivit tamen semperque vivet; virtutem enim amavi illius viri, quæ exstincta non est. Nec mihi soli versatur ante oculos, qui illam semper in manibus habui, sed etiam posteris erit clara et insignis. Nemo unquam animo aut spe majora suscipiet, qui sibi non illius memoriam atque imaginem proponendam putet. 103. Equidem ex omnibus rebus, quas mihi aut fortuna aut natura tribuit, nihil habeo, quod cum amicitia Scipionis possim comparare. In hac

mihi de re publica consensus, in hac rerum privatarum consilium, in eadem requies plena oblectationis fuit. Nunquam illum ne minima quidem re offendi, quod quidem senserim: nihil audivi ex eo ipse, quod nollem. Una domus erat, idem victus, isque communis: neque solum militia, sed etiam peregrinationes rusticationesque communes. 104. Nam quid ego de studiis dicam cognoscendi semper aliquid atque discendi, in quibus, remoti ab oculis populi, omne otiosum tempus contrivimus? Quarum rerum recordatio et memoria, si una cum illo occidisset, desiderium conjunctissimi atque amantissimi viri ferre nullo modo possem. Sed nec illa exstincta sunt, aluntur que potius et augentur cogitatione et memoria mea: et, si illis plane orbatus essem, magnum tamen afferret mihi ætas ipsa solatium; diutius enim jam in hoc desiderio esse non possum; omnia autem brevia tolerabilia esse debent, etiam si magna sunt. Hæc habui, de amicitia quæ dicerem. Vos autem hortor, ut ita virtutem locetis, sine qua amicitia esse non potest, ut, ea excepta, nihil amicitia præstabilius putetis.

BRUTUS

DE

CLARIS ORATORIBUS.

I.

1. Cum e Cilicia decedens Rhodum venissem et eo mihi de Q. Hortensii morte esset allatum, opinione omnium majorem animo cepi dolorem. Nam et amico amisso cum consuetudine jucunda tum multorum officiorum conjunctione me privatum videbam, et interitu talis auguris dignitatem nostri collegii deminutam dolebam; qua in cogitatione et cooptatum me ab eo in collegium recordabar, in quo juratus judicium dignitatis meæ fecerat, et inauguratum ab eodem; ex quo augurum institutis in parentis eum loco colere debebam. 2. Augebat etiam molestiam quod magna sapientium civium bonorumque penuria vir egregius conjunctissimusque mecum consiliorum omnium societate alienissimo reipublicæ tempore exstinctus et auctoritatis et prudentiæ suæ triste nobis desiderium reliquerat; dolebamque quod, non, ut plerique putabant, adversarium aut obtrectatorem laudum mearum, sed socium potius et consortem gloriosi laboris amiseram. 3. Et enim si in leviorum artium studio memoriæ proditum est, poetas nobiles poetarum æqualium morte doluisse, quo tandem animo ejus interitum ferre debui, cum quo certare erat gloriosius quam omnino adversarium non habere? cum præsertim non modo nunquam sit aut illius a me cursus impeditus aut ab illo meus, sed contra semper alter ab altero adjutus et communicando et monendo et favendo. 4. Sed quoniam perpetua quadam felicitate usus ille cessit e vita suo magis quam suorum civium tempore et tum occidit, cum lugere facilius rempublicam posset, si viveret, quam juvare, vixitque tamdiu quam licuit in civitate bene beateque vivere, nostro incommodo detrimentoque, si est ita necesse, doleamus, illius vero mortis opportunitatem benevolentia potius quam misericordia prosequamur, ut, quotiescunque

D 2

de clarissimo et beatissimo viro cogitemus, illum potius quam nosmet ipsos diligere videamur. 5. Nam si id dolemus quod eo jam frui nobis non licet, nostrum est id malum—quod modice feramus, ne id non ad amicitiam, sed ad domesticam utilitatem referre videamur; sin, tanquam illi ipsi acerbitatis aliquid acciderit, angimur, summam ejus felicitatem non satis grato animo interpretamur.

II. 6. Et enim si viveret Q. Hortensius, cetera fortasse desideraret una cum reliquis bonis et fortibus civibus, hunc aut præter ceteros aut cum paucis sustineret dolorem, cum forum populi Romani, quod fuisset quasi theatrum illius ingenii, voce erudita et Romanis Græcisque auribus digna spoliatum atque orbatum videret. 7. Equidem angor animo, non consilii, non ingenii, non auctoritatis armis egere rem publicam, quæ didiceram tractare, quibusque me assuefeceram, quæque erant propria cum præstantis in re publica viri, tum bene moratæ et bene constitutæ civitatis. Quodsi fuit in re publica tempus ullum, cum extorquere arma posset e manibus iratorum civium boni civis auctoritas et oratio, tum profecto fuit, cum patrocinium pacis exclusum est aut errore hominum aut timore. 8. Ita nobismet ipsis accidit ut, quanquam essent multo magis alia lugenda, tamen hoc doleremus, quod, quo tempore ætas nostra perfuncta rebus amplissimis tanquam in portum confugere deberet, non inertiæ neque desidiæ, sed otii moderati atque honesti, cumque ipsa oratio jam nostra canesceret haberetque suam quandam maturitatem et quasi senectutem, tum arma sunt ea sumpta, quibus illi ipsi, qui didicerant eis uti gloriose, quemadmodum salutariter uterentur, non reperiebant. 9. Itaque ii mihi videntur fortunate beateque vixisse cum in ceteris civitatibus tum maxime in nostra, quibus cum auctoritate rerumque gestarum gloria tum etiam sapientiæ laude perfrui licuit. Quorum memoria et recordatio in maximis nostris gravissimisque curis jucunda sane fuit, cum in eam nuper ex sermone quodam incidissemus.

III. 10. Nam cum inambularem in xysto et essem otiosus domi, M. ad me Brutus, ut consueverat, cum T. Pomponio venerat, homines cum inter se conjuncti tum mihi ita cari itaque jucundi, ut eorum aspectu omnis, quæ me angebat de re publica, cura consederit. Quos postquam salutavi, Quid vos, inquam, Brute et Attice? numquid tandem novi? Nihil sane, inquit Brutus, quod quidem aut tu audire velis aut ego pro certo dicere audeam. 11. Tum Atticus, Eo, inquit, ad te animo venimus, ut de re publica esset silentium et aliquid audiremus

potius ex te quam te afficeremus ulla molestia. Vos vero, inquam, Attice, et præsentem me cura levatis et absenti magna solatia dedistis, nam vestris primum litteris recreatus me ad pristina studia revocavi. Tum ille, Legi, inquit, perlubenter epistolam, quam ad te Brutus misit ex Asia, qua mihi visus est et monere te prudenter et consolari amicissime. 12. Recte, inquam, est visus; nam me istis scito litteris ex diuturna perturbatione totius valetudinis tanquam ad aspiciendam lucem esse revocatum. Atque ut post Cannensem illam calamitatem primum Marcelli ad Nolam prœlio populus se Romanus erexit, posteaque prosperæ res deinceps multæ consecutæ sunt: sic post rerum nostrarum et communium gravissimos casus nihil ante epistolam Bruti mihi accidit, quod vellem, aut quod aliqua ex parte sollicitudines allevaret meas. 13. Tum Brutus: Volui id quidem efficere certe, et capio magnum fructum, si quidem quod volui tanta in re consecutus sum; sed scire cupio, quæ te Attici litteræ delectaverint. Istæ vero, inquam, Brute, non modo delectationem mihi, sed etiam, ut spero, salutem attulerunt. Salutem? inquit ille. Quodnam tandem genus istuc tam præclarum litterarum fuit? An mihi potuit, inquam, esse aut gratior ulla salutatio aut ad hoc tempus aptior quam illius libri, quo me hic affatus quasi jacentem excitavit? 14. Tum ille, Nempe eum dicis, inquit, quo iste omnem rerum memoriam breviter et, ut mihi quidem visum est, perdiligenter complexus est? Istum ipsum, inquam, Brute, dico librum mihi saluti fuisse.

IV. Tum Atticus: Optatissimum mihi quidem est quod dicis; sed quid tandem habuit liber iste, quod tibi aut novum aut tanto usui posset esse? 15. Ille vero et nova, inquam, mihi quidem multa et eam utilitatem, quam requirebam, ut explicatis ordinibus temporum uno in conspectu omnia viderem. Quæ cum studiose tractare cœpissem, ipsa mihi tractatio litterarum salutaris fuit admonuitque, Pomponi, ut a te ipso sumerem aliquid ad me reficiendum teque remunerandum, si non pari, at grato tamen munere: quanquam illud Hesiodium laudatur a doctis, quod eadem mensura reddere jubet, qua acceperis, aut etiam cumulatiore, si possis. 16. Ego autem voluntatem tibi profecto emetiar, sed rem ipsam nondum posse videor; idque ut ignoscas a te peto. Nec enim ex novis, ut agricolæ solent, fructibus est, unde tibi reddam quod accepi—sic omnis fetus repressus, exustusque flos siti veteris ubertatis exaruit; nec ex conditis, qui jacent in tenebris et ad quos omnis nobis aditus, qui pæne solis patuit, obstructus est.

Seremus igitur aliquid tanquam in inculto et derelicto solo quod ita diligenter colemus, ut impendiis etiam augere possimus largitatem tui muneris : modo idem noster animus efficere possit, quod ager, qui, cum multos annos quievit, uberiores efferre fruges solet. 17. Tum ille : Ego vero et exspectabo ea quæ polliceris, nec exigam nisi tuo commodo, et erunt mihi pergrata, si solveris. Mihi quoque, inquit Brutus, exspectanda sunt ea quæ Attico polliceris, etsi fortasse ego a te hujus voluntarius procurator petam, quod ipse, cui debes, se incommodo exacturum negat.

V. 18. At vero, inquam, tibi ego, Brute, non solvam, nisi prius a te cavero, amplius eo nomine neminem, cujus petitio sit, petiturum. Non mehercule, inquit, tibi repromittere istuc quidem ausim ; nam hunc, qui negat, video flagitatorem, non illum quidem tibi molestum, sed assiduum tamen et acrem fore. Tum Pomponius, Ego vero, inquit, Brutum nihil mentiri puto. Videor enim jam te ausurus esse appellare, quoniam longo intervallo modo primum animadverti paulo te hilariorem. 19. Itaque quoniam hic, quod mihi deberetur, se exacturum professus est, quod huic debes ego a te peto. Quidnam id? inquam. Ut scribas, inquit, aliquid ; jampridem enim conticuerunt tuæ litteræ. Nam ut illos de re publica libros edidisti, nihil a te sane postea accepimus : eisque nosmet ipsi ad veterum rerum nostrarum memoriam comprehendendam impulsi atque incensi sumus. Sed illa, cum poteris ; atque ut possis, rogo ; nunc vero, inquit, si es animo vacuo, expone nobis quod quærimus. 20. Quidnam est id? inquam. Quod mihi nuper in Tusculano inchoavisti, de oratoribus, quando esse cœpissent, qui etiam et quales fuissent. Quem ego sermonem cum ad Brutum tuum vel nostrum potius detulissem, magnopere hic audire se velle dixit. Itaque hunc elegimus diem, cum te sciremus esse vacuum. Quare, si tibi est commodum, ede illa quæ cœperas, et Bruto et mihi. 21. Ego vero, inquam, si potuero, faciam vobis satis. Poteris, inquit : relaxa modo paulum animum aut plane, si potes, libera.

Nempe igitur hinc tum, Pomponi, ductus est sermo, quod erat a me mentio facta, causam Deiotari, fidelissimi atque optimi regis, ornatissime et copiosissime a Bruto me audisse defensam.

VI. Scio, inquit, ab isto initio tractum esse sermonem, teque Bruti dolentem vicem quasi deflevisse judiciorum vastitatem et fori. 22. Feci, inquam, istuc quidem et sæpe facio. Nam mihi, Brute, in te intuenti crebro in mentem venit vereri,

ecquodnam curriculum aliquando sit habitura tua et natura admirabilis et exquisita doctrina et singularis industria. Cum enim in maximis causis versatus esses, et cum tibi ætas nostra jam cederet fascesque summitteret, subito in civitate cum alia ceciderunt, tum etiam ea ipsa, de qua disputare ordimur, eloquentia obmutuit. 23. Tum ille, Ceterarum rerum causa, inquit, istuc et doleo et dolendum puto; dicendi autem me non tam fructus et gloria quam studium ipsum exercitatioque delectat: quod mihi nulla res eripiet, te præsertim tam studioso mei. Dicere enim bene nemo potest nisi qui prudenter intelligit; quare qui eloquentiæ veræ dat operam, dat prudentiæ, qua ne maximis quidem in bellis æquo animo carere quisquam potest. 24. Præclare, inquam, Brute, dicis; eoque magis ista dicendi laude delector, quod cetera, quæ sunt quondam habita in civitate pulcherrima, nemo est tam humilis, qui se non aut posse adipisci aut adeptum putet: eloquentem neminem video factum esse victoria. Sed quo facilius sermo explicetur, sedentes, si videtur, agamus. Cum idem placuisset illis, tum in pratulo propter Platonis statuam consedimus.

25. Hic ego: Laudare igitur eloquentiam, et quanta vis sit ejus expromere, quantamque eis qui sint eam consecuti, dignitatem afferat, neque propositum nobis est hoc loco neque necessarium. Hoc vero sine ulla dubitatione confirmaverim, sive illa arte pariatur aliqua sive exercitatione quadam sive natura, rem unam esse omnium difficillimam. Quibus enim ex quinque rebus constare dicitur, earum una quæque est ars ipsa magna per sese. Quare quinque artium concursus maximarum quantam vim quantamque difficultatem habeat, existimari potest.

VII. 26. Testis est Græcia, quæ, cum eloquentiæ studio sit incensa jamdiuque excellat in ea præstetque ceteris, tamen omnes artes vetustiores habet et multo ante non inventas solum sed etiam perfectas, quam hæc est elaborata dicendi vis atque copia. In quam cum intueor, maxime mihi occurrunt, Attice, et quasi lucent Athenæ tuæ; qua in urbe primum se orator extulit primumque etiam monumentis et litteris oratio est cœpta mandari. 27. Tamen ante Periclem, cujus scripta quædam feruntur, et Thucydidem, qui non nascentibus Athenis sed jam adultis fuerunt, littera nulla est, quæ quidem ornatum aliquem habeat et oratoris esse videatur. Quanquam opinio est et eum qui multis annis ante hos fuerit, Pisistratum, et paulo seniorem etiam Solonem, posteaque Clisthenem multum, ut temporibus illis, valuisse dicendo. 28. Post hanc ætatem

aliquot annis, ut ex Atticis monumentis potest perspici, Themistocles fuit, quem constat cum prudentia tum etiam eloquentia præstitisse; post Pericles, qui cum floreret omni genere virtutis, hac tamen fuit laude clarissimus. Cleonem etiam temporibus illis turbulentum illum quidem civem, sed tamen eloquentem constat fuisse; 29. huic ætati suppares Alcibiades, Critias, Theramenes. Quibus temporibus quod dicendi genus viguerit, ex Thucydidi scriptis, qui ipse tum fuit, intelligi maxime potest. Grandes erant verbis, crebri sententiis, compressione rerum breves et ob eam ipsam causam interdum subobscuri.

VIII. 30. Sed ut intellectum est, quantam vim haberet accurata et facta quodam modo oratio, tum etiam magistri dicendi multi subito exstiterunt. Leontinus Gorgias, Thrasymachus Chalcedonius, Protagoras Abderites, Prodicus Ceus, Hippias Eleus aliique multi temporibus eisdem docere se profitebantur arrogantibus sane verbis, quemadmodum causa inferior—ita enim loquebantur—dicendo fieri superior posset. 31. His opposuit sese Socrates, qui subtilitate quadam disputandi refellere eorum instituta solebat. Hujus ex uberrimis sermonibus exstiterunt doctissimi viri; primumque tum philosophia, non illa de natura, quæ fuerat antiquior, sed hæc, in qua de bonis rebus et malis deque hominum vita et moribus disputatur, inventa dicitur. Quod quoniam genus ab hoc quod proposuimus abhorret, philosophos aliud in tempus rejiciamus, ad oratores, a quibus digressi sumus, revertamur. 32. Exstitit igitur jam senibus illis, quos paulo ante diximus, Isocrates, cujus domus cunctæ Græciæ quasi ludus quidam patuit atque officina dicendi; magnus orator et perfectus magister, quamquam forensi luce caruit intraque parietes aluit eam gloriam, quam nemo meo quidem judicio est postea consecutus. Is et ipse scripsit multa præclare et docuit alios; et cum cetera melius quam superiores tum primus intellexit, etiam in soluta oratione, dum versum effugeres, modum tamen et numerum quendam oportere servari. 33. Ante hunc enim verborum quasi structura et quædam ad numerum conclusio nulla erat, aut, si quando erat, non apparebat eam dedita opera esse quæsitam,—quæ forsitan laus sit, verum tamen natura magis tum casuque nonnunquam, quam aut ratione aliqua aut observatione fiebat. 34. Ipsa enim natura circumscriptione quadam verborum comprehendit concluditque sententiam; quæ cum aptis constricta verbis est, cadit etiam plerumque numerose. Nam et aures ipsæ quid plenum, quid inane sit judicant, et spiritu, quasi necessitate aliqua, verborum comprehensio ter-

minatur; in quo non modo defici, sed etiam laborare turpe est.

IX. 35. Tum fuit Lysias, ipse quidem in causis forensibus non versatus, sed egregie subtilis scriptor atque elegans, quem jam probe audeas oratorem perfectum dicere. Nam plane quidem perfectum et cui nihil admodum desit Demosthenem facile dixeris. Nihil acute inveniri potuit in eis causis quas scripsit, nihil ut ita dicam subdole, nihil versute, quod ille non viderit; nihil subtiliter dici, nihil presse, nihil enucleate, quo fieri possit aliquid limatius; nihil contra grande, nihil incitatum, nihil ornatum vel verborum gravitate vel sententiarum, quo quicquam esse elatius. 36. Huic Hyperides proximus et Æschines fuit et Lycurgus et Dinarchus et is, cujus nulla exstant scripta, Demades aliique plures. Hæc enim ætas effudit hanc copiam; et, ut opinio mea fert, succus ille et sanguis incorruptus usque ad hanc ætatem oratorum fuit, in qua naturalis inesset, non fucatus nitor. 37. Phalereus enim successit eis senibus adolescens, eruditissimus ille quidem horum omnium, sed non tam armis institutus quam palæstra; itaque delectabat magis Athenienses quam inflammabat. Processerat enim in solem et pulverem, non ut e militari tabernaculo, sed ut e Theophrasti doctissimi hominis umbraculis. 38. Hic primus inflexit orationem et eam mollem teneramque reddidit et suavis, sicut fuit, videri maluit quam gravis, sed suavitate ea, qua perfunderet animos, non qua perfringeret, tantum ut memoriam concinnitatis suæ, non, quemadmodum de Pericle scripsit Eupolis, cum delectatione aculeos etiam relinqueret in animis eorum, a quibus esset auditus.

X. 39. Videsne igitur, vel in ea ipsa urbe, in qua et nata et alta sit eloquentia, quam ea sero prodierit in lucem? si quidem ante Solonis ætatem et Pisistrati de nullo ut diserto memoriæ proditum est. At hi quidem, ut populi Romani ætas est, senes, ut Atheniensium sæcla numerantur, adolescentes debent videri; nam etsi Servio Tullio regnante viguerunt, tamen multo diutius Athenæ tum erant quam est Roma ad hodiernum diem. Nec tamen dubito, quin habuerit vim magnam semper oratio. 40. Neque enim jam Troicis temporibus tantum laudis in dicendo Ulixi tribuisset Homerus et Nestori, quorum alterum vim habere voluit, alterum suavitatem, nisi jam tum esset honos eloquentiæ; neque ipse poeta hic tam idem ornatus in dicendo ac plane orator fuisset. Cujus etsi incerta sunt tempora, tamen annis multis fuit ante Romulum; si quidem non infra superiorem Lycurgum fuit, a quo est disci-

plina Lacedæmoniorum astricta legibus. 41. Sed studium ejus generis majorque vis agnoscitur in Pisistrato. Denique hunc proximo sæclo Themistocles insecutus est, ut apud nos, perantiquus, ut apud Athenienses, non ita sane vetus. Fuit enim regnante jam Græcia, nostra autem civitate non ita pridem dominatu regio liberata. Nam bellum Volscorum illud gravissimum, cui Coriolanus exul interfuit, eodem fere tempore, quo Persarum bellum, fuit, similisque fortuna clarorum virorum; 42. si quidem uterque, cum civis egregius fuisset, populi ingrati pulsus injuria se ad hostes contulit conatumque iracundiæ suæ morte sedavit. Nam etsi aliter apud te est, Attice, de Coriolano, concede tamen ut huic generi mortis potius assentiar.

XI. At ille ridens, Tuo vero, inquit, arbitratu; quoniam quidem concessum est rhetoribus ementiri in historiis, ut aliquid dicere possint argutius. Ut enim tu nunc de Coriolano, sic Clitarchus, sic Stratocles de Themistocle finxit. 43. Nam quem Thucydides, qui et Atheniensis erat et summo loco natus summusque vir et paulo ætate posterior, tantum morbo mortuum scripsit et in Attica clam humatum, addidit fuisse suspicionem veneno sibi conscivisse mortem, hunc isti aiunt, cum taurum immolavisset, excepisse sanguinem patera et eo poto mortuum concidisse. Hanc enim mortem rhetorice et tragice ornare potuerunt; illa mors vulgaris nullam præbebat materiem ad ornatum. Quare quoniam tibi ita quadrat, omnia fuisse Themistocli paria et Coriolano, pateram quoque a me sumas licet; præbebo etiam hostiam, ut Coriolanus sit plane alter Themistocles. 44. Sit sane, inquam, ut lubet de isto; et ego cautius posthac historiam attingam te audiente, quem rerum Romanarum auctorem laudare possum religiosissimum. Sed tum fere Pericles, Xanthippi filius, de quo ante dixi, primus adhibuit doctrinam; quæ quanquam tum nulla erat dicendi, tamen ab Anaxagora physico eruditus exercitationem mentis a reconditis abstrusisque rebus ad causas forenses popularesque facile traduxerat. Hujus suavitate maxime hilaratæ sunt Athenæ, hujus ubertatem et copiam admiratæ ejusdem vim dicendi terroremque timuerunt.

XII. 45. Hæc igitur ætas prima Athenis oratorem prope perfectum tulit. Nec enim in constituentibus rempublicam nec in bella gerentibus nec in impeditis ac regum dominatione devinctis nasci cupiditas dicendi solet. Pacis est comes otiique socia et jam bene constitutæ civitatis quasi alumna quædam eloquentia. 46. Itaque ait Aristoteles, cum sublatis in Sicilia tyrannis res privatæ longo intervallo judiciis repeterentur, tum

Corax Tisias

primum, quod esset acuta illa gens et controversiæ nata, artem et præcepta Siculos Coracem et Tisiam conscripsisse. Nam antea neminem solitum via nec arte, sed accurate tamen et descripte plerosque dicere, scriptasque fuisse et paratas a Protagora rerum illustrium disputationes, quæ nunc communes appellantur loci. 47. Quod idem fecisse Gorgiam, quem singularum rerum laudes vituperationesque conscripsisse, quod judicaret hoc oratoris esse maxime proprium rem augere posse laudando vituperandoque rursus affligere. Huic Antiphontem Rhamnusium similia quædam habuisse conscripta; quo neminem unquam melius ullam oravisse capitis causam, cum se ipse defenderet se audiente, locuples auctor scripsit Thucydides. 48. Nam Lysiam primo profiteri solitum artem esse dicendi; deinde, quod Theodorus esset in arte subtilior, in orationibus autem jejunior, orationes eum scribere aliis cœpisse, artem removisse. Similiter Isocratem primo artem dicendi esse negavisse, scribere autem aliis solitum orationes, quibus in judiciis uterentur; sed cum ex eo, quasi qui committeret contra legem "a quo quis judicio circumveniretur," sæpe ipse in judicium vocaretur, orationes aliis destitisse scribere totumque se ad artes componendas transtulisse.

XIII. 49. Et Græciæ quidem oratorum partus atque fontes vides, ad nostrorum annalium rationem veteres, ad ipsorum sane recentes. Nam antequam delectata est Atheniensium civitas hac laude dicendi, multa jam memorabilia et in domesticis et in bellicis rebus effecerat; hoc autem studium non erat commune Græciæ, sed proprium Athenarum. 50. Quis enim aut Argivum oratorem aut Corinthium aut Thebanum scit fuisse temporibus illis? nisi quid de Epaminonda, docto homine, suspicari libet. Lacedæmonium vero usque ad hoc tempus audivi fuisse neminem. Menelaum ipsum, dulcem illum quidem tradit Homerus, sed pauca dicentem; brevitas autem laus est interdum in aliqua parte dicendi, in universa eloquentia laudem non habet. 51. At vero extra Græciam magna dicendi studia fuerunt, maximique huic laudi habiti honores illustre oratorum nomen reddiderunt. Nam ut semel e Piræeo eloquentia evecta est, omnes peragravit insulas atque ita peregrinata tota Asia est, ut se externis oblineret moribus omnemque illam salubritatem Atticæ dictionis et quasi sanitatem perderet ac loqui pæne dedisceret. Hinc Asiatici oratores non contemnendi quidem nec celeritate nec copia, sed parum pressi et nimis redundantes; Rhodii saniores et Atticorum similiores. 52. Sed de Græcis hactenus; et enim hæc ipsa forsitan fuerint non uecessaria.

Tum Brutus, Ista vero, inquit, quam necessaria fuerint, non facile dixerim; jucunda certe mihi fuerunt neque solum non longa, sed etiam breviora quam vellem. Optime, inquam, sed veniamus ad nostros, de quibus difficile est plus intelligere quam quantum ex monumentis suspicari licet.

XIV. 53. Quis enim putet aut celeritatem ingenii L. Bruto illi, nobilitatis vestræ principi, defuisse? qui de matre suavianda ex oraculo Apollinis tam acute arguteque conjecerit; qui summam prudentiam simulatione stultitiæ texerit; qui potentissimum regem clarissimi regis filium expulerit civitatemque perpetuo dominatu liberatam magistratibus annuis, legibus judiciisque devinxerit; qui collegæ suo imperium abrogaverit, ut e civitate regalis nominis memoriam tolleret; quod certe effici non potuisset, nisi esset oratione persuasum. 54. Videmus item paucis annis post reges exactos, cum plebes prope ripam Anienis ad tertium miliarium consedisset eumque montem qui sacer appellatus est occupavisset, M. Valerium dictatorem dicendo sedavisse discordias, eique ob eam rem honores amplissimos habitos, et eum primum ob eam ipsam causam Maximum esse appellatum. Ne L. Valerium quidem Potitum arbitror non aliquid potuisse dicendo, qui post decemviralem invidiam plebem in patres incitatam legibus et contionibus suis mitigaverit. 55. Possumus Appium Claudium suspicari disertum, quia senatum jamjam inclinatum a Pyrrhi pace revocaverit; possumus C. Fabricium, quia sit ad Pyrrhum de captivis recuperandis missus orator; Ti. Coruncanium, quod ex pontificum commentariis longe plurimum ingenio valuisse videatur; M'. Curium, quod is tribunus plebis, interrege Appio Cæco, diserto homine, comitia contra leges habente, cum de plebe consulem non accipiebat, patres ante auctores fieri coegerit; quod fuit permagnum nondum lege Mænia lata. 56. Licet aliquid etiam de M. Popillii ingenio suspicari, qui cum consul esset eodemque tempore sacrificium publicum cum læna faceret, quod erat flamen Carmentalis, plebi contra patres concitatione et seditione nuntiata, ut erat læna amictus, ita venit in contionem seditionemque cum auctoritate tum oratione sedavit. Sed eos oratores habitos esse, aut omnino tum ullum eloquentiæ præmium fuisse, nihil sane mihi legisse videor, tantummodo conjectura ducor ad suspicandum. 57. Dicitur etiam C. Flaminius, is qui tribunus plebis legem de agro Gallico et Piceno viritim dividendo tulit, qui consul apud Trasumennum est interfectus, ad populum valuisse dicendo. Q. etiam Maximus Verrucosus orator habitus est temporibus illis et Q. Metellus, is qui bello Punico secundo cum L. Veturio Philone consul fuit.

XV. Quem vero exstet eloquentem fuisse et ita esse habitum, primus est M. Cornelius Cethegus, cujus eloquentiæ est auctor, et idoneus quidem mea sententia, Q. Ennius; præsertim cum et ipse eum audiverit et scribat de mortuo; ex quo nulla suspicio est amicitiæ causa esse mentitum. Est igitur sic apud illum in nono ut opinor annali:

Additur orator Corneliu' suaviloquenti
Ore Cethegus Marcu' Tuditano conlega,
Marci filius—

et oratorem appellat et suaviloquentiam tribuit, quæ nunc quidem non tam est in plerisque (latrant enim jam quidam oratores, non loquuntur), sed est ea laus eloquentiæ certe maxima—

is dictust ollis popularibus olim,
Qui tum vivebant homines atque ævum agitabant,
Flos delibatus populi—

probe vero; 59. ut enim hominis decus ingenium, sic ingenii ipsius lumen est eloquentia, qua virum excellentem præclare tum illi homines florem populi esse dixerunt—

Suadæque medulla.

Πειθὼ quam vocant Græci, cujus effector est orator, hanc Suadam appellavit Ennius, ut, quam deam in Pericli labris scripsit Eupolis sessitavisse, hujus hic medullam nostrum oratorem fuisse dixerit. 60. At hic Cethegus consul cum P. Tuditano fuit bello Punico secundo, quæstorque his consulibus M. Cato, modo plane annis CXL ante me consulem; et id ipsum nisi unius esset Ennii testimonio cognitum, hunc vetustas, ut alios fortasse multos, oblivione obruisset. Illius autem ætatis qui sermo fuerit ex Nævianis scriptis intelligi potest. His enim consulibus, ut in veteribus commentariis scriptum est, Nævius est mortuus; quanquam Varro noster, diligentissimus investigator antiquitatis, putat in hoc erratum, vitamque Nævii producit longius. Nam Plautus, P. Claudio, L. Porcio, viginti annis post illos quos ante dixi consules, mortuus est, Catone censore.

61. Hunc igitur Cethegum consecutus est ætate Cato, qui annis IX post eum fuit consul. Eum nos ut perveterem habemus, qui L. Marcio M'. Manilio consulibus mortuus est, annis LXXXVI ipsis ante me consulem; XVI. nec vero habeo quenquam antiquiorem, cujus quidem scripta proferenda putem, nisi quem Appii Cæci oratio hæc ipsa de Pyrrho et nonnullæ mortuorum laudationes forte delectant.

Exactly

Manius

62. Et hercules hæ quidem exstant: ipsæ enim familiæ sua quasi ornamenta ac monumenta servabant et ad usum, si quis ejusdem generis occidisset, et ad memoriam laudum domesticarum et ad illustrandam nobilitatem suam. Quanquam his laudationibus historia rerum nostrarum est facta mendosior. Multa enim scripta sunt in eis quæ facta non sunt, falsi triumphi, plures consulatus, genera etiam falsa et ad plebem transitiones, cum homines humiliores in alienum ejusdem nominis infunderentur genus; ut si ego me a M'. Tullio esse dicerem, qui patricius cum Servio Sulpicio consul anno x post exactos reges fuit. 63. Catonis autem orationes non minus multæ fere sunt quam Attici Lysiæ, cujus arbitror plurimas esse—est enim Atticus, quoniam certe Athenis est et natus et mortuus et functus omni civium munere, quanquam Timæus eum quasi Licinia et Mucia lege repetit Syracusas—; et quodam modo est nonnulla in eis etiam inter ipsos similitudo. Acuti sunt, elegantes, faceti, breves; sed ille Græcus ab omni laude felicior. 64. Habet enim certos sui studiosos, qui non tam habitus corporis opimos quam gracilitates consectentur, quos, valetudo modo bona sit, tenuitas ipsa delectat—quanquam in Lysia sæpe sunt etiam lacerti sic ut fieri nihil possit valentius; verum est certe genere toto strigosior,—sed habet tamen suos laudatores, qui hac ipsa ejus subtilitate admodum gaudeant.

XVII. 65. Catonem vero quis nostrorum oratorum, qui quidem nunc sunt, legit, aut quis novit omnino? at quem virum! Di boni! mitto civem aut senatorem aut imperatorem, oratorem enim hoc loco quærimus: quis illo gravior in laudando? acerbior in vituperando? in sententiis argutior? in docendo edisserendoque subtilior? Refertæ sunt orationes amplius centum quinquaginta, quas quidem adhuc invenerim et legerim, et verbis et rebus illustribus. Licet ex his eligant ea quæ notatione et laude digna sint: omnes oratoriæ virtutes in eis reperientur. 66. Jam vero Origines ejus quem florem aut quod lumen eloquentiæ non habent? Amatores huic desunt, sicuti multis jam ante sæclis et Philisto Syracusio et ipsi Thucydidi. Nam ut horum concisis sententiis, interdum etiam non satis apertis cum brevitate tum nimio acumine, officit Theopompus elatione atque altitudine orationis suæ (quod idem Lysiæ Demosthenes): sic Catonis luminibus obstruxit hæc posteriorum quasi exaggerata altius oratio. 67. Sed ea in nostris inscitia est, quod hi ipsi, qui in Græcis antiquitate delectantur eaque subtilitate, quam Atticam appellant, hanc in Catone ne noverunt quidem. Hyperidæ volunt esse et

Lysiæ. Laudo; sed cur nolunt Catones? Attico genere dicendi se gaudere dicunt. 68. Sapienter id quidem—atque utinam imitarentur, nec ossa solum, sed etiam sanguinem!—gratum est tamen, quod volunt; cur igitur Lysias et Hyperides amatur, cum penitus ignoretur Cato? Antiquior est hujus sermo et quædam horridiora verba: ita enim tum loquebantur. Id muta, quod tum ille non potuit, et adde numeros et, ut aptior sit oratio, ipsa verba compone et quasi coagmenta, quod ne Græci quidem veteres factitaverunt: jam neminem antepones Catoni. 69. Ornari orationem Græci putant, si verborum immutationibus utantur, quos appellant τρόπους, et sententiarum orationisque formis, quæ vocant σχήματα: non verisimile est, quam sit in utroque genere et creber et distinctus Cato.

XVIII. Nec vero ignoro nondum esse satis politum hunc oratorem et quærendum esse aliquid perfectius: quippe cum ita sit ad nostrorum temporum rationem vetus, ut nullius scriptum exstet dignum quidem lectione, quod sit antiquius. Sed majore honore in omnibus artibus quam in hac una dicendi versatur antiquitas.

70. Quis enim eorum qui hæc minora animadvertunt non intelligit, Canachi signa rigidiora esse quam ut imitentur veritatem? Calamidis dura illa quidem, sed tamen molliora quam Canachi; nondum Myronis satis ad veritatem adducta, jam tamen quæ non dubites pulchra dicere; pulchriora etiam Polycleti et jam plane pefecta, ut mihi quidem videri solent. Similis in pictura ratio est; in qua Zeuxin et Polygnotum et Timanthem et eorum, qui non sunt usi plus quam quattuor coloribus, formas et lineamenta laudamus; at in Aëtione, Nicomacho, Protogene, Apelle jam perfecta sunt omnia. 71. Et nescio an reliquis in rebus omnibus idem eveniat: nihil est enim simul et inventum et perfectum; nec dubitari debet quin fuerint ante Homerum poëtæ; quod ex eis carminibus intelligi potest, quæ apud illum et in Phæacum et in procorum epulis canuntur. Quid? nostri veteres versus ubi sunt?

quos olim Fauni vatesque canebant,
Cum neque Musarum scopulos quisquam superarat,
Nec dicti studiosus erat—
Ante hunc,

ait ipse de se, nec mentitur in gloriando: sic enim sese res habet. Nam et Odyssea Latina est sic tanquam opus aliquod Dædali, et Livianæ fabulæ non satis dignæ, quæ iterum legantur. 72. Atqui hic Livius primus fabulam C. Claudio Cæci filio et M. Tuditano consulibus docuit, anno ipso ante quam natus est

Ennius, post Roman conditam autem quartodecimo et quingentesimo, ut hic ait, quem nos sequimur. Est enim inter scriptores de numero annorum controversia. Accius autem a Q. Maximo quintum consule captum Tarento scripsit Livium, annis XXX post quam eum fabulam docuisse et Atticus scribit et nos in antiquis commentariis invenimus, docuisse autem fabulam annis post XI, C. Cornelio, Q. Minucio consulibus, ludis Juventatis quos Salinator Senensi prœlio voverat. In quo tantus error Accii fuit, ut his consulibus XXXX annos natus Ennius fuerit; cui si æqualis fuerit Livius, minor fuit aliquanto is, qui primus fabulam dedit, quam ii, qui multas docuerant ante hos consules, et Plautus et Nævius.

XIX. 74. Hæc si minus apta videntur huic sermoni, Brute, Attico assigna, qui me inflammavit studio illustrium hominum ætates et tempora persequendi. Ego vero, inquit Brutus, et delector ista quasi notatione temporum et ad id quod instituisti, oratorum genera distinguere ætatibus, istam diligentiam esse accommodatam puto. 75. Recte, inquam, Brute, intelligis. Atque utinam exstarent illa carmina, quæ multis sæclis ante suam ætatem in epulis esse cantitata a singulis convivis de clarorum virorum laudibus, in Originibus scriptum reliquit Cato! Tamen Nævii, illius quem in vatibus et Faunis annumerat Ennius, bellum Punicum quasi Myronis opus delectat. 76. Sit Ennius sane, ut est certe, perfectior; qui si illum, ut simulat, contemneret, non omnia bella persequens primum illud Punicum acerrimum bellum reliquisset. Sed ipse dicit, cur id faciat. "Scripsere," inquit, "alii rem versibus"—et luculente quidem scripserunt, etiamsi minus quam tu polite. Nec vero tibi aliter videri debet, qui a Nævio vel sumpsisti multa, si fateris, vel, si negas, surripuisti.

77. Cum hoc Catone grandiores natu fuerunt C. Flaminius, C. Varro, Q. Maximus, Q. Metellus, P. Lentulus, P. Crassus, qui cum superiore Africano consul fuit. Ipsum Scipionem accepimus non infantem fuisse. Filius quidem ejus, is qui hunc minorem Scipionem a Paulo adoptavit, si corpore valuisset, in primis habitus esset disertus; indicant cum oratiunculæ tum historia quædam Græca, scripta dulcissime.

XX. 78. Numeroque eodem fuit Sex. Ælius, juris quidem civilis omnium peritissumus, sed etiam ad dicendum paratus. De minoribus autem C. Sulpicius Gallus, qui maxime omnium nobilium Græcis litteris studuit; isque et oratorum in numero est habitus et fuit reliquis rebus ornatus atque elegans. Jam enim erat unctior quædam splendidiorque consuetudo loquendi;

nam hoc prætore ludos Apollini faciente, cum Thyesten fabulam docuisset, Q. Marcio, Cn. Servilio consulibus mortem obiit Ennius. 79. Erat iisdem temporibus Ti. Gracchus P. F., qui bis consul et censor fuit, cujus est oratio Græca apud Rhodios; quem civem cum gravem tum etiam eloquentem constat fuisse. P. etiam Scipionem Nasicam, qui est Corculum appellatus, qui item bis consul et censor fuit, habitum eloquentem aiunt, illius qui sacra acceperit filium; dicunt etiam L. Lentulum, qui cum C. Figulo consul fuit. Q. Nobiliorem M. F. jam patrio instituto deditum studio litterarum,—qui etiam Q. Ennium, qui cum patre ejus in Ætolia militaverat, civitate donavit, cum triumvir coloniam deduxisset—et T. Annium Luscum, hujus Q. Fulvii collegam, non indisertum dicunt fuisse; 80. atque etiam L. Paulus, Africani pater, personam principis civis facile dicendo tuebatur. Et vero etiam tum Catone vivo, qui annos quinque et octoginta natus excessit e vita, cum quidem eo ipso anno contra Ser. Galbam ad populum summa contentione dixisset, quam etiam orationem scriptam reliquit,—sed vivo Catone minores natu multi uno tempore oratores floruerunt.

XXI. 81. Nam et A. Albinus, is qui Græce scripsit historiam, qui consul cum L. Lucullo fuit, et litteratus et disertus fuit; et tenuit cum hoc locum quendam etiam Ser. Fulvius et una Ser. Fabius Pictor, et juris et litterarum et antiquitatis bene peritus; Quintusque Fabius Labeo fuit ornatus eisdem fere laudibus. Nam Q. Metellus, is cujus quattuor filii consulares fuerunt, in primis est habitus eloquens, qui pro L. Cotta dixit accusante Africano; cujus et aliæ sunt orationes et contra Ti. Gracchum exposita est in C. Fannii annalibus. 82. Tum ipse L. Cotta veterator habitus; sed C. Lælius et P. Africanus in primis eloquentes, quorum exstant orationes, ex quibus existimari de ingeniis oratorum potest. Sed inter hos ætate paulum eis antecedens sine controversia Ser. Galba eloquentia præstitit; et nimirum is princeps ex Latinis illa oratorum propria et quasi legitima opera tractavit, ut egrederetur a proposito ornandi causa, ut delectaret animos, ut permoveret, ut augeret rem, ut miserationibus, ut communibus locis uteretur. Sed nescio quo modo hujus, quem constat eloquentia præstitisse, exiliores orationes sunt et redolentes magis antiquitatem quam aut Lælii aut Scipionis aut etiam ipsius Catonis, itaque evanuerunt, vix jam ut appareant.

83. De ipsius Lælii et Scipionis ingenio quanquam ea est fama ut plurimum tribuatur ambobus, dicendi tamen laus est in Lælio illustrior. At oratio Lælii de collegiis non melior quam

Ennius, post Roman conditam autem quartodecimo et quingentesimo, ut hic ait, quem nos sequimur. Est enim inter scriptores de numero annorum controversia. Accius autem a Q. Maximo quintum consule captum Tarento scripsit Livium, annis XXX post quam eum fabulam docuisse et Atticus scribit et nos in antiquis commentariis invenimus, docuisse autem fabulam annis post XI, C. Cornelio, Q. Minucio consulibus, ludis Juventatis quos Salinator Senensi prœlio voverat. In quo tantus error Accii fuit, ut his consulibus XXXX annos natus Ennius fuerit; cui si æqualis fuerit Livius, minor fuit aliquanto is, qui primus fabulam dedit, quam ii, qui multas docuerant ante hos consules, et Plautus et Nævius.

XIX. 74. Hæc si minus apta videntur huic sermoni, Brute, Attico assigna, qui me inflammavit studio illustrium hominum ætates et tempora persequendi. Ego vero, inquit Brutus, et delector ista quasi notatione temporum et ad id quod instituisti, oratorum genera distinguere ætatibus, istam diligentiam esse accommodatam puto. 75. Recte, inquam, Brute, intelligis. Atque utinam exstarent illa carmina, quæ multis sæclis ante suam ætatem in epulis esse cantitata a singulis convivis de clarorum virorum laudibus, in Originibus scriptum reliquit Cato! Tamen Nævii, illius quem in vatibus et Faunis annumerat Ennius, bellum Punicum quasi Myronis opus delectat. 76. Sit Ennius sane, ut est certe, perfectior; qui si illum, ut simulat, contemneret, non omnia bella persequens primum illud Punicum acerrimum bellum reliquisset. Sed ipse dicit, cur id faciat. "Scripsere," inquit, "alii rem versibus"—et luculente quidem scripserunt, etiamsi minus quam tu polite. Nec vero tibi aliter videri debet, qui a Nævio vel sumpsisti multa, si fateris, vel, si negas, surripuisti.

77. Cum hoc Catone grandiores natu fuerunt C. Flaminius, C. Varro, Q. Maximus, Q. Metellus, P. Lentulus, P. Crassus, qui cum superiore Africano consul fuit. Ipsum Scipionem accepimus non infantem fuisse. Filius quidem ejus, is qui hunc minorem Scipionem a Paulo adoptavit, si corpore valuisset, in primis habitus esset disertus; indicant cum oratiunculæ tum historia quædam Græca, scripta dulcissime.

XX. 78. Numeroque eodem fuit Sex. Ælius, juris quidem civilis omnium peritissumus, sed etiam ad dicendum paratus. De minoribus autem C. Sulpicius Gallus, qui maxime omnium nobilium Græcis litteris studuit; isque et oratorum in numero est habitus et fuit reliquis rebus ornatus atque elegans. Jam enim erat unctior quædam splendidiorque consuetudo loquendi;

nam hoc prætore ludos Apollini faciente, cum Thyesten fabulam docuisset, Q. Marcio, Cn. Servilio consulibus mortem obiit Ennius. 79. Erat iisdem temporibus Ti. Gracchus P. F., qui bis consul et censor fuit, cujus est oratio Græca apud Rhodios; quem civem cum gravem tum etiam eloquentem constat fuisse. P. etiam Scipionem Nasicam, qui est Corculum appellatus, qui item bis consul et censor fuit, habitum eloquentem aiunt, illius qui sacra acceperit filium; dicunt etiam L. Lentulum, qui cum C. Figulo consul fuit. Q. Nobiliorem M. F. jam patrio instituto deditum studio litterarum,—qui etiam Q. Ennium, qui cum patre ejus in Ætolia militaverat, civitate donavit, cum triumvir coloniam deduxisset—et T. Annium Luscum, hujus Q. Fulvii collegam, non indisertum dicunt fuisse; 80. atque etiam L. Paulus, Africani pater, personam principis civis facile dicendo tuebatur. Et vero etiam tum Catone vivo, qui annos quinque et octoginta natus excessit e vita, cum quidem eo ipso anno contra Ser. Galbam ad populum summa contentione dixisset, quam etiam orationem scriptam reliquit,—sed vivo Catone minores natu multi uno tempore oratores floruerunt.

XXI. 81. Nam et A. Albinus, is qui Græce scripsit historiam, qui consul cum L. Lucullo fuit, et litteratus et disertus fuit; et tenuit cum hoc locum quendam etiam Ser. Fulvius et una Ser. Fabius Pictor, et juris et litterarum et antiquitatis bene peritus; Quintusque Fabius Labeo fuit ornatus eisdem fere laudibus. Nam Q. Metellus, is cujus quattuor filii consulares fuerunt, in primis est habitus eloquens, qui pro L. Cotta dixit accusante Africano; cujus et aliæ sunt orationes et contra Ti. Gracchum exposita est in C. Fannii annalibus. 82. Tum ipse L. Cotta veterator habitus; sed C. Lælius et P. Africanus in primis eloquentes, quorum exstant orationes, ex quibus existimari de ingeniis oratorum potest. Sed inter hos ætate paulum eis antecedens sine controversia Ser. Galba eloquentia præstitit; et nimirum is princeps ex Latinis illa oratorum propria et quasi legitima opera tractavit, ut egrederetur a proposito ornandi causa, ut delectaret animos, ut permoveret, ut augeret rem, ut miserationibus, ut communibus locis uteretur. Sed nescio quo modo hujus, quem constat eloquentia præstitisse, exiliores orationes sunt et redolentes magis antiquitatem quam aut Lælii aut Scipionis aut etiam ipsius Catonis, itaque evanuerunt, vix jam ut appareant.

83. De ipsius Lælii et Scipionis ingenio quanquam ea est fama ut plurimum tribuatur ambobus, dicendi tamen laus est in Lælio illustrior. At oratio Lælii de collegiis non melior quam

de multis quam voles Scipionis; non quo illa Lælii quicquam sit dulcius, aut quo de religione dici possit augustius; sed multo tamen vetustior et horridior ille quam Scipio et, cum sint in dicendo variæ voluntates, delectari mihi magis antiquitate videtur et libenter verbis etiam uti paulo magis priscis Lælius. 84. Sed est mos hominum, ut nolint eundem pluribus rebus excellere. Nam ut ex bellica laude aspirare ad Africanum nemo potest, in qua ipsa egregium Viriathi bello reperimus fuisse Lælium: sic ingenii, litterarum, eloquentiæ, sapientiæ denique, etsi utrique primas, priores tamen libenter deferunt Lælio. Nec mihi ceterorum judicio solum videtur, sed etiam ipsorum inter ipsos concessu ita tributum fuisse. 85. Erat omnino tum mos, ut in reliquis rebus melior, sic in hoc ipso humanior, ut faciles essent in suum cuique tribuendo.

XXII. Memoria teneo Smyrnæ me ex P. Rutilio Rufo audisse, cum diceret adolescentulo se accidisse, ut ex senatus consulto P. Scipio et D. Brutus, ut opinor, consules de re atroci magnaque quærerent. Nam cum in silva Sila facta cædes esset notique homines interfecti insimularetur que familia, partim etiam liberi societatis ejus, quæ picarias de P. Cornelio, L. Mummio censoribus redemisset, decrevisse senatum ut de ea re cognoscerent et statuerent consules. 86. Causam pro publicanis accurate, ut semper solitus esset, eleganterque dixisse Lælium. Cum consules re audita "amplius" de consilii sententia pronutiavissent, paucis interpositis diebus iterum Lælium multo diligentius meliusque dixisse, iterumque eodem modo a consulibus rem esse prolatam. Tum Lælium, cum eum socii domum reduxissent egissentque gratias et ne defatigaretur oravissent, locutum esse ita: se, quæ fecisset, honoris eorum causa studiose accurateque fecisse; sed se arbitrari, causam illam a Ser. Galba, quod is in dicendo ardentior acriorque esset, gravius et vehementius posse defendi. Itaque auctoritate C. Lælii publicanos causam detulisse ad Galbam; illum autem, quod ei viro succedendum esset, verecunde et dubitanter recepisse. 87. Unum quasi comperendinatus medium diem fuisse, quem totum Galbam in consideranda causa componendaque posuisse; et cum cognitionis dies esset et ipse Rutilius rogatu sociorum domum ad Galbam mane venisset, ut eum admoneret et ad dicendi tempus adduceret, usque illum, quoad ei nuntiatum esset consules descendisse, omnibus exclusis commentatum in quadam testudine cum servis litteratis fuisse, quorum alii aliud dictare eodem tempore solitus esset. Interim cum esset ei nuntiatum tempus esse, exisse in ædes eo colore et eis oculis,

ut egisse causam, non commentatum putares. 88. Addebat etiam, idque ad rem pertinere putabat, scriptores illos male mulcatos exisse cum Galba; ex quo significabat, illum non in agendo solum, sed etiam in meditando vehementem atque incensum fuisse. Quid multa? magna exspectatione, plurimis audientibus, coram ipso Lælio sic illam causam, tanta vi tantaque gravitate dixisse Galbam, ut nulla fere pars orationis silentio præteriretur. Itaque multis querelis multaque miseratione adhibita socios omnibus approbantibus illa die quæstione liberatos esse.

XXIII. 89. Ex hac Rutilii narratione suspicari licet, cum duæ summæ sint in oratore laudes, una subtiliter disputandi ad docendum, altera graviter agendi ad animos audientium permovendos, multoque plus proficiat is, qui inflammet judicem, quam ille, qui doceat: elegantiam in Lælio, vim in Galba fuisse. Quæ quidem vis tum maxime cognita est cum, Lusitanis a Ser. Galba prætore contra interpositam, ut existimabatur, fidem, interfectis, C. Libone tribuno plebis populum incitante et rogationem in Galbam privilegii similem ferente, summa senectute, ut ante dixi, M. Cato legem suadens in Galbam multa dixit; quam orationem in origines suas rettulit paucis antequam mortuus est diebus an mensibus. 90. Tum igitur nihil recusans Galba pro sese, et populi Romani fidem implorans, cum suos pueros tum C. Galli etiam filium flens commendabat, cujus orbitas et fletus mire miserabilis fuit propter recentem memoriam clarissimi patris; isque se tum eripuit flamma, propter pueros misericordia populi commota, sicut idem scriptum reliquit Cato. Atque etiam ipsum Libonem non infantem video fuisse, ut ex orationibus ejus intelligi potest.

91. Cum hæc dixissem et paulum interquievissem, Quid igitur, inquit, est causæ, Brutus, si tanta virtus in oratore Galba fuit, cur ea nulla in orationibus ejus appareat? quod mirari non possum in eis, qui nihil omnino scripti reliquerunt.

XXIV. Nec enim est eadem, inquam, Brute, causa non scribendi et non tam bene scribendi quam dixerint. Nam videmus alios oratores inertia nihil scripsisse, ne domesticus etiam labor accederet ad forensem (pleræque enim scribuntur orationes habitæ jam, non ut habeantur); 92. alios non laborare ut meliores fiant (nulla enim res tantum ad dicendum proficit quantum scriptio); memoriam autem in posterum ingenii sui non desiderant, cum se putant satis magnam adeptos esse dicendi gloriam, eamque etiam majorem visum iri, si in existimantium arbitrium sua scripta non venerint; alios, quod melius putent

dicere se posse quam scribere; quod peringeniosis hominibus neque satis doctis plerumque contingit, ut ipsi Galbæ. 93. Quem fortasse vis non ingenii solum, sed etiam animi et naturalis quidam dolor dicentem incendebat efficiebatque, ut et incitata et gravis et vehemens esset oratio; dein cum otiosus stilum prehenderat motusque omnis animi, tanquam ventus, hominem defecerat, flaccescebat oratio. Quod eis qui limatius dicendi consectantur genus accidere non solet, propterea quod prudentia nunquam deficit oratorem, qua ille utens eodem modo possit et dicere et scribere; ardor animi non semper adest, isque cum consedit, omnis illa vis et quasi flamma oratoris exstinguitur. 94. Hanc igitur ob causam videtur Lælii mens spirare etiam in scriptis, Galbæ autem vis occidisse.

XXV. Fuerunt etiam in oratorum numero mediocrium L. et Sp. Mummii fratres, quorum exstant amborum orationes; simplex quidem L. et antiquus, Sp. autem nihilo ille quidem ornatior, sed tamen astrictior; fuit enim doctus ex disciplina stoicorum. Multæ sunt Sp. Albini orationes; sunt etiam L. et C. Aureliorum Orestarum, quos aliquo video in numero oratorum fuisse. 95. P. etiam Popillius cum civis egregius tum non indisertus fuit; C. vero, filius ejus, disertus; Caiusque Tuditanus cum omni vita atque victu excultus atque expolitus, tum ejus elegans est habitum etiam orationis genus. Eodemque in genere est habitus is, qui injuria accepta fregit Ti. Gracchum patientia, civis in rebus optimis constantissimus, M. Octavius. At vero M. Æmilius Lepidus, qui est Porcina dictus, iisdem temporibus fere quibus Galba, sed paulo minor natu, et summus orator est habitus et fuit, ut apparet ex orationibus, scriptor sane bonus. 96. Hoc in oratore Latino primum mihi videtur et levitas apparuisse illa Græcorum et verborum comprehensio et jam artifex, ut ita dicam, stilus. Hunc studiose duo adolescentes ingeniosissimi et prope æquales, C. Carbo et Ti. Gracchus, audire soliti sunt; de quibus jam dicendi locus erit, cum de senioribus pauca dixero. Q. enim Pompeius non contemptus orator temporibus illis fuit, qui summos honores, homo per se cognitus, sine ulla commendatione majorum est adeptus. 97. Tum L. Cassius multum potuit, non eloquentia, sed dicendo tamen; homo non liberalitate, ut alii, sed ipsa tristitia et severitate popularis, cujus quidem legi tabellariæ M. Antius Briso tribunus plebis diu restitit M. Lepido consule adjuvante; eaque res P. Africano vituperationi fuit, quod ejus auctoritate de sententia deductus Briso putabatur. Tum duo Cæpiones multum clientes consilio et lingua, plus auctoritate tamen et

gratia sublevabant. Sex. Pompeii sunt scripta nec nimis extenuata, quanquam veterum est similis, et plena prudentiæ.

XXVI. 98. P. Crassum valde probatum oratorem iisdem fere temporibus accepimus, qui et ingenio valuit et studio et habuit quasdam etiam domesticas disciplinas. Nam et cum summo illo oratore, Ser. Galba, cujus Caio filio filiam suam collocaverat, affinitate sese devinxerat et, cum esset P. Mucii filius fratremque haberet P. Scævolam, domi jus civile cognoverat. In eo industriam constat summam fuisse maximamque gratiam, cum et consuleretur plurimum et diceret. Horum ætatibus adjuncti duo C. Fannii, C. et M. filii, fuerunt; quorum Caii filius, qui consul cum Domitio fuit, unam orationem de sociis et nomine Latino contra C. Gracchum reliquit sane et bonam et nobilem. Tum Atticus: Quid ergo? estne ista Fannii? nam varia opinio pueris nobis erat. Alii a C. Persio, litterato homine, scriptam esse aiebant, illo quem significat valde doctum esse Lucilius; alii multos nobiles, quod quisque potuisset, in illam orationem contulisse. 100. Tum ego, Audivi equidem ista, inquam, de majoribus natu, sed nunquam sum adductus ut crederem; eamque suspicionem propter hanc causam credo fuisse, quod Fannius in mediocribus oratoribus habitus esset, oratio autem vel optima esset illo quidem tempore orationum omnium. Sed nec ejusmodi est ut a pluribus confusa videatur—unus enim sonus est totius orationis et idem stilus—nec de Persio reticuisset Gracchus, cum ei Fannius de Menelao Maratheno et de ceteris objecisset; præsertim cum Fannius nunquam sit habitus elinguis. Nam et causas defensitavit et tribunatus ejus, arbitrio et auctoritate P. Africani gestus, non obscurus fuit. 101. Alter autem C. Fannius, M. filius, C. Lælii gener, et moribus et ipso genere dicendi durior. Is soceri instituto, quem, quia cooptatus in augurum collegium non erat, non admodum diligebat, præsertim cum ille Q. Scævolam sibi minorem natu generum prætulisset—, cui tamen Lælius se excusans, non genero minori dixit se illud, sed majori filiæ detulisse—, is tamen instituto Lælii Panætium audiverat. Ejus omnis in dicendo facultas ex historia ipsius non ineleganter scripta perspici potest, quæ neque nimis est infans neque perfecte diserta. 102. Mucius autem augur, quod pro se opus erat, ipse dicebat, ut de pecuniis repetundis contra T. Albucium. Is oratorum in numero non fuit, juris civilis intelligentia atque omni prudentiæ genere præstitit. L. Cælius Antipater scriptor, quemadmodum videtis, fuit, ut tem-

poribus illis, luculentus, juris valde peritus, multorum etiam, ut L. Crassi, magister.

XXVII. 103. Utinam in Ti. Gracchо Caioque Carbone talis mens ad rem publicam bene gerendam fuisset, quale ingenium ad bene dicendum fuit: profecto nemo his viris gloria præstitisset. Sed eorum alter propter turbulentissimum tribunatum, ad quem ex invidia fœderis Numantini bonis iratus accesserat, ab ipsa re publica est interfectus; alter propter perpetuam in populari ratione levitatem morte voluntaria se a severitate judicum vindicavit; sed fuit uterque summus orator. 104. Atque hoc memoria patrum teste dicimus; nam et Carbonis et Gracchi habemus orationes nondum satis splendidas verbis, sed acutas prudentiæque plenissimas. Fuit Gracchus diligentia Corneliæ matris a puero doctus et Græcis litteris eruditus. Nam semper habuit exquisitos e Græcia magistros, in eis jam adolescens Diophanem Mitylenæum, Græciæ temporibus illis disertissimum. 105 Sed ei breve tempus ingenii augendi et declarandi fuit; Carbo, cui vita suppeditavit, est in multis judiciis causisque cognitus. Hunc qui audierant prudentes homines, in quibus familiaris noster L. Gellius, qui se illi contubernalem in consulatu fuisse narrabat, canorum oratorem et volubilem et satis acrem, atque eundem et vehementem et valde dulcem et perfacetum fuisse dicebat; addebat, industrium etiam et diligentem et in exercitationibus commentationibusque multum operæ solitum esse ponere. 106. Hic optimus illis temporibus est patronus habitus, eoque forum tenente plura fieri judicia cœperunt. Nam et quæstiones perpetuæ hoc adolescente constitutæ sunt, quæ antea nullæ fuerunt; L. enim Piso tribunus plebis legem primus de pecuniis repetundis Censorino et Manilio consulibus tulit—ipse etiam Piso et causas egit et multarum legum aut auctor aut dissuasor fuit, isque et orationes reliquit, quæ jam evanuerunt, et annales sane exiliter scriptos—; et judicia populi, quibus aderat Carbo, jam magis patronum desiderabant tabella data; quam legem L. Cassius Lepido et Mancino consulibus tulit.

XXVIII. 107. Vester etiam D. Brutus M. filius, ut ex familiari ejus L. Accio poeta sum audire solitus, et dicere non inculte solebat et erat cum litteris Latinis tum etiam Græcis, ut temporibus illis, eruditus. Quæ tribuebat idem Accius etiam Q. Maximo, L. Pauli nepoti; et vero ante Maximum, illum Scipionem, quo duce privato Ti. Gracchus occisus esset, cum omnibus in rebus vehementem tum acrem aiebat in dicendo fuisse. 108. Tum etiam P. Lentulus ille princeps, ad rem

publicam duntaxat quod opus esset, satis habuisse eloquentiæ dicitur; iisdemque temporibus L. Furius Philus perbene Latine loqui putabatur litteratiusque quam ceteri; P. Scævola valde prudenter et acute; paulo etiam copiosius nec multo minus prudenter M'. Manilius. Appii Claudii volubilis, sed paulo fervidior erat oratio. In aliquo numero etiam M. Fulvius Flaccus et C. Cato, Africani sororis filius, mediocres oratores; etsi Flacci scripta sunt, sed ut studiosi litterarum. Flacci autem æmulus P. Decius fuit, non infans ille quidem, sed ut vita, sic oratione etiam turbulentus. 109. M. Drusus C. F., qui in tribunatu C. Gracchum collegam iterum tribunum fregit, vir et oratione gravis et auctoritate; eique proxime adjunctus C. Drusus frater fuit. Tuus etiam gentilis, Brute, M. Pennus facete agitavit in tribunatu C. Gracchum paulum ætate antecedens. Fuit enim M. Lepido et L. Oreste consulibus quæstor Gracchus, tribunus Pennus, illius M. filius, qui cum Q. Ælio consul fuit; sed omnia is summa sperans ædilicius est mortuus. Nam de T. Flaminino, quem ipse vidi, nihil accepi nisi Latine diligenter locutum.

XXIX. 110. His adjuncti sunt C. Curio, M. Scaurus, P. Rutilius, C. Gracchus. De Scauro et Rutilio breviter licet dicere, quorum neuter summi oratoris habuit laudem, et uterque in multis causis versatus erat; in quibusdam laudandi viri, etiam si maximi ingenii non essent, probabiles tamen industria; quanquam his quidem non omnino ingenium, sed oratorium ingenium defuit. Neque enim refert videre, quid dicendum sit, nisi id queas solute et suaviter dicere; ne id quidem satis est, nisi id quod dicitur fit voce, vultu motuque conditius. 111. Quid dicam opus esse doctrina? sine qua etiam si quid bene dicitur adjuvante natura, tamen id, quia fortuito fit, semper paratum esse non potest. In Scauri oratione, sapientis hominis et recti, gravitas summa et naturalis quædam inerat auctoritas, non ut causam, sed ut testimonium dicere putares, cum pro reo diceret. 112. Hoc dicendi genus ad patrocinia mediocriter aptum videbatur, ad senatoriam vero sententiam, cujus erat ille princeps, vel maxime; significabat enim non prudentiam solum, sed, quod maxime rem continebat, fidem. Habebat hoc a natura ipsa, quod a doctrina non facile posset; quanquam hujus quoque ipsius rei, quemadmodum scis, præcepta sunt. Hujus et orationes sunt et tres ad L. Fufidium libri scripti de vita ipsius, lectu sane utiles, quos nemo legit; at Cyri vitam et disciplinam legunt, præclaram illam quidem, sed neque tam nostris rebus aptam, nec tamen Scauri laudibus

anteponendam. Ipse etiam Fufidius in aliquo patronorum numero fuit. 113. Rutilius autem in quodam tristi et severo genere dicendi versatus est.

XXX. Erat uterque natura vehemens et acer; itaque cum una consulatum petivissent, non ille solum, qui repulsam tulerat, accusavit ambitus designatum competitorem, sed Scaurus etiam absolutus Rutilium in judicium vocavit. Multaque opera multaque industria Rutilius fuit; quæ erat propterea gratior, quod idem magnum munus de jure respondendi sustinebat. 114. Sunt ejus orationes jejunæ; multa præclara de jure; doctus vir et Græcis litteris eruditus, Panætii auditor, prope perfectus in stoicis; quorum peracutum et artis plenum orationis genus scis tamen esse exile nec satis populari assensioni accommodatum. Itaque illa, quæ propria est hujus disciplinæ philosophorum de se ipsorum opinio, firma in hoc viro et stabilis inventa est. 115. Qui cum innocentissimus in judicium vocatus esset (quo judicio convulsam penitus scimus esse rem publicam), cum essent eo tempore eloquentissimi viri L. Crassus et M. Antonius consulares, eorum adhibere neutrum voluit. Dixit ipse pro sese, et pauca C. Cotta, quod sororis erat filius, et is quidem tamen ut orator, quanquam erat admodum adolescens, et Q. Mucius, enucleate ille quidem et polite, ut solebat, nequaquam autem ea vi atque copia, quam genus illud judicii et magnitudo causæ postulabat. 116. Habemus igitur in stoicis orateribus Rutilium, Scaurum in antiquis; utrumque tamen laudemus, quoniam per illos ne hæc quidem in civitate genera hac oratoria laude caruerunt. Volo enim ut in scena sic etiam in foro non eos modo laudari, qui celeri motu et difficili utantur, sed eos etiam, quos statarios appellant, quorum sit illa simplex in agendo veritas, non molesta.

XXXI. 117. Et quoniam stoicorum est facta mentio, Q. Ælius Tubero fuit illo tempore, L. Pauli nepos, nullo in oratorum numero, sed vita severus et congruens cum ea disciplina quam colebat, paulo etiam durior; qui quidem in triumviratu judicaverit contra P. Africani, avunculi sui, testimonium, vacationem augures, quo minus judiciis operam darent, non habere; sed ut vita, sic oratione durus, incultus, horridus; itaque honoribus majorum respondere non potuit. Fuit autem constans civis et fortis et in primis C. Graccho molestus, quod indicat Gracchi in eum oratio;—sunt etiam in Gracchum Tuberonis. Is fuit mediocris in dicendo, doctissimus in disputando. Tum Brutus: Quam hoc idem in nostris contingere intelligo quod in Græcis, ut omnes fere stoici prudentissimi in

disserendo sint et id arte faciant sintque architecti pæne verborum; iidem traducti a disputando ad dicendum inopes reperiantur. Unum excipio Catonem, in quo perfectissimo stoico summam eloquentiam non desiderem, quam exiguam in Fannio, ne in Rutilio quidem magnam, in Tuberone nullam video fuisse. 119. Et ego, Non, inquam, Brute, sine causa, propterea quod istorum in dialecticis omnis cura consumitur, vagum illud orationis et fusum et mutiplex non adhibetur genus. Tuus autem avunculus, quemadmodum scis, habet a stoicis id quod ab illis petendum fuit; sed dicere didicit a dicendi magistris eorumque more se exercuit. Quodsi omnia a philosophis essent petenda, peripateticorum institutis commodius fingeretur oratio. 120. Quo magis tuum, Brute, judicium probo, qui eorum philosophorum sectam secutus es, quorum in doctrina atque præceptis disserendi ratio conjungitur cum suavitate dicendi et copia; quanquam ea ipsa peripateticorum academicorumque consuetudo in ratione dicendi talis est, ut nec perficere oratorem possit ipsa per sese, nec sine ea orator esse perfectus. Nam ut stoicorum adstrictior est oratio aliquantoque contractior quam aures populi requirunt, sic illorum liberior et latior quam patitur consuetudo judiciorum et fori. 121. Quis enim uberior in dicendo Platone? Jovem sic aiunt philosophi, si Græce loquatur, loqui. Quis Aristotele nervosior, Theophrasto dulcior? Lectitavisse Platonem studiose, audivisse etiam Demosthenes dicitur: idque apparet ex genere et granditate verborum; dicit etiam in quadam epistola hoc ipse de sese. Sed et hujus oratio in philosophiam translata pugnacior, ut ita dicam, videtur, et illorum in judicia pacatior.

XXXII. 122. Nunc reliquorum oratorum ætates, si placet et gradus persequamur. Nobis vero, inquit Atticus, et vehementer quidem, ut pro Bruto etiam respondeam.

Curio fuit igitur ejusdem ætatis fere sane illustris orator, cujus de ingenio ex orationibus ejus existimari potest: sunt enim et aliæ et pro Ser. Fulvio de incestu nobilis oratio. Nobis quidem pueris hæc omnium optima putabatur, quæ vix jam comparet in hac turba novorum voluminum. 123. Præclare, inquit Brutus, teneo, qui istam turbam voluminum effecerit. Et ego, Intelligo, inquam, Brute, quem dicas. Certe enim et boni aliquid attulimus juventuti, magnificentius quam fuerat genus dicendi et ornatius; et nocuimus fortasse, quod veteres orationes post nostras, non a me quidem (meis enim illas antepono), sed a plerisque legi sunt desitæ. Numera, inquit, me in plerisque; quanquam video mihi multa legenda jam te

auctore, quæ antea contemnebam. 124. Atqui hæc, inquam, de incestu laudata oratio puerilis est locis multis: de amore, de tormentis, de rumore loci sane inanes; verum tamen nondum tritis nostrorum hominum auribus nec erudita civitate tolerabiles. Scripsit etiam alia nonnulla et multa dixit et illustria et in numero patronorum fuit, ut eum mirer, cum ei vita suppeditavisset et splendor ei non defuisset, consulem non fuisse.

XXXIII. 125. Sed ecce in manibus vir et præstantissimo ingenio et flagranti studio et doctus a puero, C. Gracchus. Noli enim putare quemquam, Brute, pleniorem aut uberiorem ad dicendum fuisse. Et ille, Sic prorsus, inquit, existimo atque istum de superioribus pæne solum lego. Immo plane, inquam, Brute, legas censeo. Damnum enim illius immaturo interitu res Romanæ Latinæque litteræ fecerunt. 126. Utinam non tam fratri pietatem quam patriæ præstare voluisset! quam ille facile tali ingenio, diutius si vixisset, vel paternam esset vel avitam gloriam consecutus! eloquentia quidem nescio an habuisset parem neminem. Grandis est verbis, sapiens sententiis, genere toto gravis: manus extrema non accessit operibus ejus; præclara inchoata multa, perfecta non plane. Legendus, inquam, est hic orator, Brute, si quisquam alius, juventuti; non enim solum acuere, sed etiam alere ingenium potest.

127. Huic successit ætati C. Galba, Servii illius eloquentissimi viri filius, P. Crassi eloquentis et jurisperiti gener. Laudabant hunc patres nostri, favebant etiam propter patris memoriam, sed cecidit in cursu. Nam rogatione Mamilia, Jugurthinæ conjurationis invidia, cum pro sese ipse dixisset, oppressus est. Exstat ejus peroratio, qui epilogus dicitur; qui tanto in honore pueris nobis erat, ut eum etiam edisceremus. Hic, qui in collegio sacerdotum esset, primus post Romam conditam judicio publico est condemnatus.

XXXIV. 128. P. Scipio, qui est in consulatu mortuus, non multum ille quidem nec sæpe dicebat, sed et Latine loquendo cuivis erat par et omnes sale facetiisque superabat. Ejus collega L. Bestia bonis initiis orsus tribunatus (nam P. Popillium vi C. Gracchi expulsum sua rogatione restituit), vir et acer et non indisertus, tristes exitus habuit consulatus. Nam invidiosa quæstione C. Galbam sacerdotem et quattuor consulares, L. Bestiam, C. Catonem, Sp. Albinum, civemque præstantissimum L. Opimium, Gracchi interfectorem, a populo absolutum, cum is contra populi studium stetisset, Gracchani judices sustulerunt. 129. Hujus dissimilis, in tribunatu

reliquaque omni vita civis improbus, C. Licinius Nerva non indisertus fuit. C. Fimbria temporibus iisdem fere, sed longius ætate provectus, habitus est sane, ut ita dicam, lutulentus, asper, maledicus : genere toto paulo fervidior atque commotior, diligentia tamen et virtute animi atque vita bonus auctor in senatu ; idem tolerabilis patronus nec rudis in jure civili, et cum virtute tum etiam ipso orationis genere liber ; cujus orationes pueri legebamus, quas jam reperire vix possumus. 130. Atque etiam ingenio et sermone eleganti, valetudine incommoda C. Sextius Calvinus fuit ; qui etsi, cum remiserant dolores pedum, non deerat in causis, tamen id non sæpe faciebat ; itaque consilio ejus, cum volebant, homines utebantur, patrocinio, cum licebat. Iisdem temporibus M. Brutus, in quo magnum fuit, Brute, dedecus generi vestro ; qui, cum tanto nomine esset, patremque optimum virum habuisset et juris peritissimum, accusationem factitaverit, ut Athenis Lycurgus. Is magistratus non petivit, sed fuit accusator vehemens et molestus, ut facile cerneres naturale quoddam stirpis bonum degeneravisse vitio depravatæ voluntatis. 131. Atque eodem tempore accusator de plebe L. Cæsulenus fuit, quem ego audivi jam senem, cum ab L. Sabellio multam lege Aquilia damni injuria petivisset. Non fecissem hominis pæne infimi mentionem, nisi judicarem, qui suspiciosius aut criminosius diceret, audivisse me neminem.

XXXV. Doctus etiam Græcis T. Albucius, vel potius plane Græcus. Loquor, ut opinor ; sed licet ex orationibus judicare. Fuit autem Athenis adolescens, perfectus Epicureus evaserat : minime aptum ad dicendum genus. 132. Jam Q. Catulus, non antiquo illo more, sed hoc nostro, nisi quid fieri potest perfectius, eruditus. Multæ litteræ, summa non vitæ solum atque naturæ, sed orationis etiam comitas, incorrupta quædam Latini sermonis integritas ; quæ perspici cum ex orationibus ejus potest, tum facillime ex eo libro, quem de consulatu et de rebus gestis suis conscriptum molli et Xenophonteo genere sermonis misit ad A. Furium poëtam, familiarem suum ; qui liber nihilo notior est quam illi tres, de quibus ante dixi, Scauri libri. 133. Tum Brutus : Mihi quidem nec iste notus est nec illi ;—sed hæc mea culpa est : nunquam enim in manus inciderunt—nunc autem et a te sumam et conquiram ista posthac curiosius. Fuit igitur in Catulo sermo Latinus ; quæ laus dicendi non mediocris ab oratoribus plerisque neglecta est. Nam de sono vocis et suavitate appellandarum litterarum, quoniam filium cognovisti, noli exspectare quid dicam. Quanquam filius quidem non fuit in

oratorum numero, sed non deerat ei tamen in sententia dicenda cum prudentia tum elegans quoddam et eruditum orationis genus. 134. Nec habitus est tamen pater ipse Catulus princeps in numero patronorum; sed erat talis ut, cum quosdam audires qui tum erant præstantes, videretur esse inferior; cum autem ipsum audires sine comparatione, non modo contentus esses, sed melius non quæreres. 135. Q. Metellus Numidicus et ejus collega M. Silanus dicebant de re publica, quod esset illis viris et consulari dignitati satis. M. Aurelius Scaurus non sæpe dicebat, sed polite; Latine vero in primis est eleganter locutus. Quæ laus eadem in A. Albino bene loquendi fuit; nam flamen Albinus etiam in numero est habitus disertorum; Q. etiam Cæpio, vir acer et fortis, cui fortuna belli crimini, invidia populi calamitati fuit.

XXXVI. 136. Tum etiam C., L. Memmii fuerunt oratores mediocres, accusatores acres atque acerbi; itaque in judicium capitis multos vocaverunt, pro reis non sæpe dixerunt. Sp. Thorius satis valuit in populari genere dicendi, is qui agrum publicum vitiosa et inutili lege vectigali levavit. M. Marcellus, Æsernini pater, non ille quidem in patronis, sed in promptis tamen et non inexercitatis ad dicendum fuit, ut filius ejus P. Lentulus. 137. L. etiam Cotta prætorius in mediocrium oratorum numero, dicendi non ita multum laude processerat, sed de industria cum verbis tum etiam ipso sono quasi subrustico persequebatur atque imitabatur antiquitatem.

Atque ego et in hoc ipso Cotta et in aliis pluribus intelligo, me non ita disertos homines et rettulisse in oratorum numerum et relaturum. Est enim propositum colligere eos, qui hoc munere in civitate functi sint ut tenerent oratorum locum; quorum quidem quæ fuerit ascensio et quam in omnibus rebus difficilis optimi perfectio atque absolutio, ex eo quod dicam existimari potest. 138. Quam multi enim jam oratores commemorati sunt, et quam diu in eorum enumeratione versamur, cum tamen spisse atque vix, ut dudum ad Demosthenem et Hyperidem, sic nunc ad Antonium Crassumque pervenimus? Nam ego sic existimo, hos oratores fuisse maximos et in his primum cum Græcorum gloria Latine dicendi copiam æquatam.

XXXVII. 139. Omnia veniebant Antonio in mentem; eaque suo quæque loco, ubi plurimum proficere et valere possent; ut ab imperatore equites, pedites, levis armatura, sic ab illo in maxime opportunis orationis partibus collocabantur. Erat memoria summa, nulla meditationis suspicio; imparatus semper

aggredi ad dicendum videbatur; sed ita erat paratus, ut judices illo dicente nonnunquam viderentur non satis parati ad cavendum fuisse. 140. Verba ipsa, non illa quidem elegantissimo sermone; itaque diligenter loquendi laude caruit,—neque tamen est admodum inquinate locutus,—sed illa, quæ propria laus oratoris est in verbis. Nam ipsum Latine loqui est illud quidem, ut paulo ante dixi, in magna laude ponendum, sed non tam sua sponte, quam quod est a plerisque neglectum; non enim tam præclarum est scire Latine quam turpe nescire, neque tam id mihi oratoris boni quam civis Romani proprium videtur. Sed tamen Antonius in verbis et eligendis, neque id ipsum tam leporis causa quam ponderis, et collocandis et comprehensione devinciendis nihil non ad rationem et tanquam ad artem dirigebat; verum multo magis hoc idem in sententiarum ornamentis et conformationibus. 141. Quo genere quia præstat omnibus Demosthenes, idcirco a doctis oratorum est princeps judicatus. *Σχήματα* enim quæ vocant Græci, ea maxime ornant oratorem; eaque non tam in verbis pingendis habent pondus quam in illuminandis sententiis.

XXXVIII. Sed cum hæc magna in Antonio, tum actio singularis; quæ si partienda est in gestum atque vocem, gestus erat non verba exprimens, sed cum sententiis congruens, manus, humeri, latera, supplosio pedis, status, incessus, omnisque motus; vox permanens, verum subrauca natura. 142. Sed hoc vitium huic uni in bonum convertebat. Habebat enim flebile quiddam in questionibus, aptumque, cum ad fidem faciendam, tum ad misericordiam commovendam: ut verum videretur in hoc illud, quod Demosthenem ferunt ei, qui quæsivisset, quid primum esset in dicendo, actionem; quid secundum, idem et idem tertium respondisse. Nulla res magis penetrat in animos eosque fingit, format, flectit, talesque oratores videri facit, quales ipsi se videri volunt.

143. Huic alii parem esse dicebant, alii anteponebant L. Crassum. Illud quidem certe omnes ita judicabant, neminem esse, qui, horum altero utro patrono, cujusquam ingenium requireret. Equidem, quanquam Antonio tantum tribuo, quantum supra dixi, tamen Crasso nihil statuo fieri potuisse perfectius. Erat summa gravitas, erat cum gravitate junctus facetiarum et urbanitatis oratorius, non scurrilis, lepos; Latine loquendi accurata et sine molestia diligens elegantia; in disserendo mira explicatio; cum de jure civili, cum de æquo et bono disputaretur, argumentorum et similitudinum copia.

XXXIX. 144. Nam ut Antonius conjectura movenda, aut

sedanda suspicione aut excitanda incredibilem vim habebat: sic in interpretando, in definiendo, in explicanda æquitate nihil erat Crasso copiosius; idque cum sæpe alias tum apud centumviros in M'. Curii causa cognitum est. 145. Ita enim multa tum contra scriptum pro æquo et bono dixit, ut hominem acutissimum Q. Scævolam et in jure, in quo illa causa vertebatur, paratissimum obrueret argumentorum exemplorumque copia; atque ita tum ab his patronis æqualibus et jam consularibus causa illa dicta est, cum uterque ex contraria parte jus civile defenderet, ut eloquentium jurisperitissimus Crassus, jurisperitorum eloquentissimus Scævola putaretur. Qui quidem cum peracutus esset ad excogitandum, quid in jure aut in æquo verum aut esset aut non esset, tum verbis erat ad rem cum summa brevitate mirabiliter aptus. 146. Quare sit nobis orator in hoc interpretandi, explanandi, edisserendi genere mirabilis, sic ut simile nihil viderim; in augendo, in ornando, in refellendo magis existimator metuendus quam admirandus orator. Verum ad Crassum revertamur.

XL. 147. Tum Brutus, Etsi satis, inquit, mihi videbar habere cognitum Scævolam ex iis rebus, quas audiebam sæpe ex C. Rutilio, quo utebar propter familiaritatem Scævolæ nostri, tamen ista mihi ejus dicendi tanta laus nota non erat; itaque cepi voluptatem, tam ornatum virum, tamque excellens ingenium fuisse in nostra re publica. 148. Hic ego, Noli, inquam, Brute, existimare, his duobus quicquam fuisse in nostra civitate præstantius. Nam ut paulo ante dixi, consultorum alterum dissertissimum, disertorum alterum consultissimum fuisse, sic in reliquis rebus ita dissimiles erant inter sese, statuere ut tamen non posses, utrius te malles similiorem. Crassus erat elegantium parcissimus, Scævola parcorum elegantissimus; Crassus in summa comitate habebat etiam severitatis satis, Scævolæ multa in severitate non deerat tamen comitas. 149. Licet omnia hoc modo; sed vereor, ne fingi videantur hæc ut dicantur a me quodam modo; res tamen sic se habet. Cum omnis virtus sit, ut vestra, Brute, vetus academia dixit, mediocritas, uterque horum medium quiddam volebat sequi: sed ita cadebat, ut alter ex alterius laude partem, uterque autem suam totam haberet. 150. Tum Brutus, Cum ex tua oratione mihi videor, inquit, bene Crassum et Scævolam cognovisse, tum de te et de Ser. Sulpicio cogitans, esse quandam vobis cum illis similitudinem judico. Quonam, inquam, istuc modo? Quia mihi et tu videris, inquit, tantum juris civilis scire voluisse quantum satis esset oratori, et Servius eloquentiæ tantum assumpsisse, ut jus civile

facile possit tueri, ætatesque vestræ, ut illorum, nihil aut non fere multum differunt.

XLI. 151. Et ego, De me, inquam, dicere nihil est necesse; de Servio autem et tu probe dicis et ego dicam quod sentio. Non enim facile quem dixerim plus studii quam illum et ad dicendum et ad omnes bonarum rerum disciplinas adhibuisse. Nam et in iisdem exercitationibus ineunte ætate fuimus, et postea una Rhodum ille etiam profectus est, quo melior esset et doctior, et inde ut rediit, videtur mihi in secunda arte primus esse maluisse quam in prima secundus. Atque haud scio an par principibus esse potuisset; sed fortasse maluit, id quod est adeptus, longe omnium non ejusdem modo ætatis, sed eorum etiam qui fuissent, in jure civili esse princeps. 152. Hic Brutus, Ain tu? inquit: etiamne Q. Scævolæ Servium nostrum anteponis? Sic enim, inquam, Brute, existimo, juris civilis magnum usum et apud Scævolam et apud multos fuisse, artem in hoc uno; quod nunquam effecisset ipsius juris scientia, nisi eam præterea didicisset artem, quæ doceret rem universam tribuere in partes, latentem explicare definiendo, obscuram explanare interpretando; ambigua primum videre, deinde distinguere; postremo habere regulam, qua vera et falsa judicarentur, et quæ quibus propositis essent, quæque non essent, consequentia. 153. Hic enim attulit hanc artem omnium artium maximam, quasi lucem, ad ea, quæ confuse ab aliis aut respondebantur aut agebantur. Dialecticam mihi videris dicere, inquit.

XLII. Recte, inquam, intelligis; sed adjunxit etiam et litterarum scientiam et loquendi elegantiam, quæ ex scriptis ejus, quorum similia nulla sunt, facillime perspici potest. 154. Cumque discendi causa duobus peritissimis operam dedisset, L. Lucilio Balbo et C. Aquilio Gallo, Galli, hominis acuti et exercitati, promptam et paratam in agendo et in respondendo celeritatem subtilitate diligentiaque superavit; Balbi docti et eruditi hominis, in utraque re consideratam tarditatem vicit expediendis conficiendisque rebus: sic et habet, quod uterque eorum habuit, et explevit, quod utrique defuit. 155. Itaque ut Crassus mihi videtur sapientius fecisse quam Scævola—hic enim causas studiose recipiebat, in quibus a Crasso superabatur; ille se consuli nolebat, né qua in re inferior esset quam Scævola—sic Servius sapientissime; cum duæ civiles artes ac forenses plurimum et laudis haberent, et gratiæ, perfecit ut altera præstaret omnibus, ex altera tantum assumeret, quantum esset et ad tuendum jus civile et ad obtinendam consularem dignitatem

satis. 156. Tum Brutus, Ita prorsus, inquit, et antea putabam —audivi enim nuper eum studiose et frequenter Sami, cum ex eo jus nostrum pontificium, qua ex parte cum jure civili conjunctum esset, vellem cognoscere—et nunc meum judicium multo magis confirmo testimonio et judicio tuo; simul illud gaudeo, quod et æqualitas vestra et pares honorum gradus et artium studiorumque quasi finitima vicinitas tantum abest ab obtrectatione et invidia, quæ solet lacerare plerosque, ut ea non modo non exulcerare vestram gratiam, sed etiam conciliare videatur. Quali enim te erga illum perspicio, tali illum in te voluntate judicioque cognovi. 157. Itaque doleo et illius consilio et tua voce populum Romanum carere tam diu; quod cum per se dolendum est, tum multo magis consideranti, ad quos ista non translata sint, sed nescio quo pacto devenerint. Hic Atticus, Dixeram, inquit, a principio, de re publica ut sileremus: itaque faciamus. Nam si isto modo volumus singulas res desiderare, non modo querendi, sed ne lugendi quidem finem reperiemus.

XLIII. 158. Pergamus ergo, inquam, ad reliqua et institutum ordinem persequamur.

Paratus igitur veniebat Crassus, exspectabatur, audiebatur; a principio statim, quod erat apud eum semper accuratum, exspectatione dignus videbatur. Non multa jactatio corporis, non inclinatio vocis, nulla inambulatio, non crebra supplosio pedis; vehemens et interdum irata et plena justi doloris oratio, multæ et cum gravitate facetiæ: quodque difficile est, idem et perornatus et perbrevis; jam in altercando invenit parem neminem. 159. Versatus est in omni fere genere causarum; mature in locum principum oratorum venit. Accusavit C. Carbonem, eloquentissimum hominem, admodum adolescens; summam ingenii non laudem modo, sed etiam admirationem est consecutus. 160. Defendit postea Liciniam virginem, cum annos XXVII natus esset. In ea ipsa causa fuit eloquentissimus, orationisque ejus scriptas quasdam partes reliquit. Voluit adolescens in colonia Narbonensi causæ popularis aliquid attingere eamque coloniam, ut fecit, ipse deducere; exstat in eam legem senior, ut ita dicam, quam illa ætas ferebat, oratio. Multæ deinde causæ, sed ita tacitus tribunatus, ut nisi in eo magistratu cœnavisset apud præconem Granium, idque nobis bis narravisset Lucilius, tribunum plebis nesciremus fuisse. 161. Ita prorsus, inquit Brutus; sed ne de Scævolæ quidem tribunatu quicquam audivisse videor et eum collegam Crassi credo fuisse. Omnibus quidem aliis, inquam, in magistratibus, sed tribunus anno post fuit, eoque in rostris sedente suasit Serviliam legem

Crassus; nam censuram sine Scævola gessit; eum enim magistratum nemo unquam Scævolarum petivit. Sed hæc Crassi cum edita oratio est, quam te sæpe legisse certo scio, quattuor et triginta tum habebat annos totidemque annis mihi ætate præstabat. His enim consulibus eam legem suasit, quibus nati sumus, cum ipse esset Q. Cæpione consule natus et C. Lælio, triennio ipso minor quam Antonius. Quod idcirco posui, ut, dicendi Latine prima maturitas in qua ætate exstitisset, posset notari, et intelligeretur jam ad summum pæne esse perductam, ut eo nihil ferme quisquam addere posset, nisi qui a philosophia, a jure civili, ab historia fuisset instructior.

XLIV. 162. Erit, inquit Brutus, aut jam est iste, quem exspectas? Nescio, inquam. Sed est etiam L. Crassi in consulatu pro Q. Cæpione defensione juncta non brevis, ut laudatio, ut oratio autem, brevis; postrema censoris oratio, qua anno duodequinquagesimo usus est. In his omnibus inest quidam sine ullo fuco veritatis color; quin etiam comprehensio et ambitus ille verborum, si sic περίοδον appellari placet, erat apud illum contractus et brevis, et in membra quædam, quæ κῶλα Græci vocant, dispertiebat orationem libentius. 163. Hoc loco Brutus, Quando quidem tu istos oratores, inquit, tantopere laudas, vellem aliquid Antonio præter illum de ratione dicendi sane exilem libellum, plura Crasso libuisset scribere: cum enim omnibus memoriam sui, tum etiam disciplinam dicendi nobis reliquissent. Nam Scævolæ dicendi elegantiam satis ex eis orationibus, quas reliquit, habemus cognitam. 164. Et ego, Mihi quidem a pueritia quasi magistra fuit, inquam, illa in legem Cæpionis oratio; in qua et auctoritas ornatur senatus, quo pro ordine illa dicuntur, et invidia concitatur in judicum et in accusatorum factionem, contra quorum potentiam populariter tum dicendum fuit. Multa in illa oratione graviter, multa leniter, multa aspere, multa facete dicta sunt; plura etiam dicta quam scripta, quod ex quibusdam capitibus expositis nec explicatis intelligi potest. Ipsa illa censoria contra Cn. Domitium collegam non est oratio; sed quasi capita rerum et orationis commentarium paulo plenius; nulla est enim altercatio clamoribus unquam habita majoribus. 165. Et vero fuit in hoc etiam popularis dictio excellens; Antonii genus dicendi multo aptius judiciis quam contionibus.

XLV. Hoc loco ipsum Domitium non relinquo; nam etsi non fuit in oratorum numero, tamen pono satis in eo fuisse orationis atque ingenii, quo et magistratus personam et consularem dignitatem tueretur; quod idem de C. Cælio dixerim,

industriam in eo summam fuisse summasque virtutes, eloquentiæ tantum, quod esset in rebus privatis amicis ejus, in re publica ipsius dignitati satis. 166. Eodem tempore M. Herennius in mediocribus oratoribus, Latine et diligenter loquentibus, numeratus est; qui tamen summa nobilitate hominem, cognatione, sodalitate, collegio, summa etiam eloquentia, L. Philippum, in consulatus petitione superavit. 167. Eodem tempore C. Claudius, etsi propter summam nobilitatem et singularem potentiam magnus erat, tamen etiam eloquentiæ quandam mediocritatem afferebat. Ejusdem fere temporis fuit eques Romanus C. Titius, qui meo judicio eo pervenisse videtur, quo potuit fere Latinus orator sine Græcis litteris et sine multo usu pervenire. Hujus orationes tantum argutiarum, tantum exemplorum, tantum urbanitatis habent, ut pæne Attico stilo scriptæ esse videantur. Easdem argutias in tragœdias satis quidem ille acute, sed parum tragice transtulit. Quem studebat imitari L. Afranius poëta, homo perargutus, in fabulis quidem etiam, ut scitis, disertus. 168. Fuit etiam Q. Rubrius Varro, qui a senatu hostis cum C. Mario judicatus est, acer et vehemens accusator, in eo genere sane probabilis. Doctus autem Græcis litteris propinquus noster, factus ad dicendum, M. Gratidius, M. Antonii perfamiliaris, cujus præfectus cum esset in Cilicia, est interfectus; is qui accusavit C. Fimbriam, M. Marii Gratidiani pater.

XLVI. 169. Atque etiam apud socios et Latinos oratores habiti sunt Q. Vettius Vettianus e Marsis, quem ipse cognovi, prudens vir et in dicendo brevis: Q., D. Valerii Sorani, vicini et familiares mei, non tam in dicendo admirabiles, quam docti et Græcis litteris et Latinis; C. Rusticelius Bononiensis, is quidem et exercitatus et natura volubilis; omnium autem eloquentissimus extra hanc urbem T. Betutius Barrus Asculanus, cujus sunt aliquot orationes Asculi habitæ; illa Romæ contra Cæpionem nobilis sane, cui orationi Cæpionis ore respondit Ælius, qui scriptitavit orationes multas, orator ipse nunquam fuit. 170. Apud majores autem nostros video disertissimum habitum ex Latio L. Papirium Fregellanum, Ti. Gracchi P. F. fere ætate; ejus etiam oratio est pro Fregellanis coloniisque Latinis habita in senatu.

Tum Brutus, Quid tu igitur, inquit, tribuis istis externis quasi oratoribus? Quid censes, inquam, nisi idem quod urbanis, præter unum, quod non est eorum urbanitate quadam quasi colorata oratio? 171. Et Brutus, Qui est, inquit, iste tandem urbanitatis color? Nescio, inquam; tantum

esse quendam scio. Id tu, Brute, jam intelliges, cum in Galliam veneris; audies tu quidem etiam verba quædam non trita Romæ; sed hæc mutari dediscique possunt; illud est majus, quod in vocibus nostrorum oratorum retinnit quiddam et resonat urbanius. Nec hoc in oratoribus modo apparet, sed etiam in ceteris. 172. Ego memini T. Tincam Placentinum, hominem facetissimum, cum familiari nostro Q. Granio præcone dicacitate certare. Eon', inquit Brutus, de quo multa Lucilius? Isto ipso; sed Tincam non minus multa ridicule dicentem Granius obruebat nescio quo sapore vernaculo; ut ego jam non mirer, illud Theophrasto accidisse quod dicitur, cum percontaretur ex anicula quadam quanti aliquid venderet et respondisset illa atque addidisset "*hospes non pote minoris*," tulisse eum moleste se non effugere hospitis speciem, cum ætatem ageret Athenis optimeque loqueretur. Omnino, sicut opinor, in nostris est quidam urbanorum, sicut illic Atticorum sonus. Sed domum redeamus, id est, ad nostros revertamur.

XLVII. 173. Duobus igitur summis, Crasso et Antonio, L. Philippus proximus accedebat, sed longo intervallo tamen proximus; itaque eum, etsi nemo intercedebat qui se illi anteferret, neque secundum tamen neque tertium dixerim. Nec enim in quadrigis eum secundum numeraverim aut tertium, qui vix e carceribus exierit, cum palmam jam primus acceperit, nec in oratoribus, qui tantum absit a primo, vix ut in eodem curriculo esse videatur. Sed tamen erant ea in Philippo, quæ, qui sine comparatione illorum spectaret, satis magna diceret: summa libertas in oratione, multæ facetiæ; satis creber in reperiendis, solutus in explicandis sententiis; erat etiam in primis, ut temporibus illis, Græcis doctrinis institutus, in altercando cum aliquo aculeo et maledicto facetus. 174. Horum ætati prope conjunctus L. Gellius non tam vendibilis orator, quamvis nescires, quid ei deesset; nec enim erat indoctus, nec tardus ad excogitandum, nec Romanarum rerum immemor, et verbis solutus satis; sed in magnos oratores inciderat ejus ætas. Multam tamen operam amicis et utilem præbuit, atque ita diu vixit, ut multarum ætatum oratoribus implicaretur. 175. Multum etiam in causis versatus iisdem fere temporibus D. Brutus, is qui consul cum Mamerco fuit, homo et Græcis doctus litteris et Latinis. Dicebat etiam L. Scipio non imperite, Cnæusque Pompeius Sex. F. aliquem numerum obtinebat. Nam Sex. frater ejus præstantissimum ingenium contulerat ad summam juris civilis et ad perfectam geometriæ et rerum stoicarum scientiam. * * * et ante hos M. Brutus; et paulo

post eum C. Billienus, homo per se magnus, prope simili ratione summus evaserat; qui consul factus esset, nisi in Marianos consulatus et in eas petitionis angustias incidisset. 176. Cn. autem Octavii eloquentia, quæ fuerat ante consulatum ignorata, in consulatu multis contionibus est vehementer probata. Sed ab eis, qui tantum in dicentium numero, non in oratorum fuerunt, jam ad oratores revertamur. Censeo, inquit Atticus; eloquentes enim videbare, non sedulos velle conquirere.

XLVIII. 177. Festivitate igitur et facetiis, inquam, C. Julius L. F. et superioribus et æqualibus suis omnibus præstitit oratorque fuit minime ille quidem vehemens, sed nemo unquam urbanitate, nemo lepore, nemo suavitate conditior. Sunt ejus aliquot orationes, ex quibus, sicut ex ejusdem tragœdiis, lenitas ejus sine nervis perspici potest. 178. Ejus æqualis P. Cethegus, cui de re publica satis suppeditabat oratio; totam enim tenebat eam penitusque cognôrat. Itaque in senatu consularium auctoritatem assequebatur, sed in causis publicis nihil, in privatis satis veterator videbatur. Erat in privatis causis Q. Lucretius Vispillo et acutus et juris peritus; nam Ofella contionibus aptior quam judiciis. Prudens etiam T. Annius Velina et in ejus generis causis orator sane tolerabilis. In eodem genere causarum multarum erat T. Juventius, nimis ille quidem lentus in dicendo et pæne frigidus, sed et callidus et in capiendo adversario versutus et præterea nec indoctus et magna cum juris civilis intelligentia. 179. Cujus auditor P. Orbius, meus fere æqualis, in dicendo non nimis exercitatus, in jure autem civili non inferior quam magister fuit. Nam T. Aufidius, qui vixit ad summam senectutem, volebat esse similis horum eratque et bonus vir et innocens, sed dicebat parum; nec sane plus frater ejus M. Virgilius, qui tribunus plebis L. Sullæ imperatori diem dixit. Ejus collega P. Magius in dicendo paulo tamen copiosior. 180. Sed omnium oratorum sive rabularum, qui et plane indocti, et inurbani, aut rustici etiam fuerunt, quos quidem ego cognoverim, solutissimum in dicendo et acutissimum judico nostri ordinis Q. Sertorium, equestris C. Gargonium. Fuit etiam facilis et expeditus ad dicendum et vitæ splendore multo et ingenio sane probabili T. Junius L. F., tribunicius, quo accusante P. Sextius prætor designatus damnatus est ambitus; is processisset honoribus longius, nisi semper infirma atque etiam ægra valetudine fuisset.

XLIX. 181. Atque ego præclare intelligo, me in eorum commemoratione versari qui nec habiti sunt oratores neque fuerunt, præteririque a me aliquot ex veteribus commemo-

ratione aut laude dignos. Sed hoc quidem ignoratione superioris ætatis; quid enim est quod scribi possit de eis, de quibus nulla monumenta loquuntur nec aliorum nec ipsorum? De eis autem, quos ipsi vidimus, neminem fere prætermittimus eorum, quos aliquando dicentes audivimus. 182. Volo enim sciri, in tanta et tam vetere re publica maximis præmiis eloquentiæ propositis, omnes cupisse dicere, non plurimos ausos esse, potuisse paucos. Ego tamen ita de unoquoque dicam, ut intelligi possit, quem existimem clamatorem, quem oratorem fuisse. Iisdem fere temporibus ætate inferiores paulo quam Julius, sed æquales propemodum fuerunt C. Cotta, P. Sulpicius, Q. Varius, Cn. Pomponius, C. Curio, L. Fufius, M. Drusus, P. Antistius; nec ulla ætate uberior oratorum fetus fuit. 183. Ex his Cotta et Sulpicius cum meo judicio tum omnium facile primas tulerunt.

Hic Atticus, Quo modo istuc dicis, inquit, cum tuo judicio, tum omnium? Semperne in oratore probando aut improbando vulgi judicium cum intelligentium judicio congruit? an alii probantur a multitudine, alii autem ab eis qui intelligunt? Recte requiris, inquam, Attice; sed audies ex me fortasse quod non omnes probent. 184. An tu, inquit, id laboras, si huic modo Bruto probaturus es? Plane, inquam, Attice, disputationem hanc de oratore probando aut improbando multo malim tibi et Bruto placere; eloquentiam autem meam populo probari velim. Et enim necesse est, qui ita dicat ut a multitudine probetur, eundem doctis probari. Nam quid in dicendo rectum sit aut pravum ego judicabo, si modo is sum, qui id possim aut sciam judicare; qualis vero sit orator ex eo, quod quis dicendo efficiet, poterit intelligi. 185. Tria sunt enim, ut quidem ego sentio, quæ sint efficienda dicendo: ut doceatur is, apud quem dicetur, ut delectetur, ut moveatur vehementius. Quibus virtutibus oratoris horum quidque efficiatur, aut quibus vitiis orator aut non assequatur hæc, aut etiam in his labatur et cadat, artifex aliquis judicabit. Efficiatur autem ab oratore necne, ut ii, qui audiant, ita afficiantur, ut orator velit, vulgi assensu et populari approbatione judicari solet. Itaque nunquam de bono oratore aut non bono doctis hominibus cum populo dissensio fuit.

L. 186. An censes, dum illi viguerunt, quos ante dixi, non eosdem gradus oratorum vulgi judicio et doctorum fuisse? De populo si quem ita rogavisses: '*quis est in hac civitate eloquentissimus?*' in Antonio et Crasso aut dubitaret, aut hunc alius, illum alius diceret. Nemone Philippum, tam suavem oratorem,

tam gravem, tam facetum, his anteferret, quem nosmetipsi, qui hæc arte aliqua volumus expendere, proximum illis fuisse diximus? Nemo profecto; id enim ipsum est summi oratoris summum oratorem populo videri. 187. Quare tibicen Antigenidas dixerit discipulo sane frigenti ad populum: '*mihi cane et Musis;*' ego huic Bruto dicenti, ut solet, apud multitudinem, '*mihi cane et populo, mi Brute*' dixerim; ut qui audient, quid efficiatur, ego etiam, cur id efficiatur, intelligam. Credit eis, quæ dicuntur, qui audit oratorem; vera putat, assentitur, probat; fidem facit oratio: tu artifex quid quæris amplius? 188. Delectatur audiens multitudo, et ducitur oratione, et quasi voluptate quadam perfunditur: quid habes quod disputes? Gaudet, dolet, ridet, plorat, favet, odit, contemnit, invidet; ad misericordiam inducitur, ad pudendum, ad pigendum: irascitur, mitigatur, sperat, timet; hæc perinde accidunt, ut eorum, qui adsunt, mentes verbis et sententiis et actione tractantur: quid est quod exspectetur docti alicujus sententia? Quod enim probat multitudo, hoc idem doctis probandum est. Denique hoc specimen est popularis judicii, in quo nunquam fuit populo cum doctis intelligentibusque dissensio. 189. Cum multi essent oratores in vario genere dicendi, quis unquam ex his excellere judicatus est vulgi judicio, qui non idem a doctis probaretur? Quando autem dubium fuisset apud patres nostros, eligendi cui patroni daretur optio, quin aut Antonium optaret aut Crassum? Aderant multi alii; tamen utrum de his potius, dubitasset aliquis, quin alterum, nemo. Quid? adolescentibus nobis cum esset Cotta et Hortensius, num quis, cui quidem eligendi potestas esset, quemquam his anteponebat?

LI. 190. Tum Brutus, Quid tu, inquit, quæris alios? de te ipso nonne, quid optarent rei, quid ipse Hortensius judicaret videbamus? qui cum partiretur tecum causas, — sæpe enim interfui—perorandi locum, ubi plurimum pollet oratio, semper tibi relinquebat. Faciebat ille quidem, inquam, et mihi benevolentia, credo, ductus tribuebat omnia. Sed ego, quæ de me populi sit opinio, nescio: de reliquis hoc affirmo, qui vulgi opinione dissertissimi habiti sint, eosdem intelligentium quoque judicio fuisse probatissimos. 191. Nec enim posset idem Demosthenes dicere, quod dixisse Antimachum, clarum poëtam, ferunt, qui cum convocatis auditoribus legeret eis magnum illud, quod novistis, volumen suum, et eum legentem omnes præter Platonem reliquissent, '*Legam,*' inquit, '*nihilo minus: Plato enim mihi unus instar est milium.*' Et recte; poëma enim reconditum paucorum approbationem, oratio popularis assensum

vulgi debet movere. At si eundem hunc Platonem unum auditorem haberet Demosthenes, cum esset relictus a ceteris, verbum facere non posset. 192. Quid tu, Brute? possesne, si te, ut Curionem quondam, contio reliquisset? Ego vero, inquit ille, ut me tibi indicem, in eis etiam causis, in quibus omnis res nobis cum judicibus est, non cum populo, tamen, si a corona relictus sim, non queam dicere. Ita se, inquam, res habet. Ut, si tibiæ inflatæ non referant sonum, abjiciendas eas sibi tibicen putet, sic oratori populi aures tanquam tibiæ sunt; eæ si inflatum non recipiunt, aut si auditor omnino tanquam equus non facit, agitandi finis faciendus est.

LII. 193. Hoc tamen interest, quod vulgus interdum non probandum oratorem probat, sed probat sine comparatione; cum a mediocri aut etiam a malo delectatur, eo est contentus: esse melius non sentit, illud quod est, qualecumque est, probat. Tenet enim aures vel mediocris orator, sit modo aliquid in eo; nec res ulla plus apud animos hominum quam ordo et ornatus orationis valet.

194. Quare quis ex populo, cum Q. Scævolam pro M. Coponio dicentem audiret in ea causa, de qua ante dixi, quidquam politius aut elegantius aut omnino melius aut exspectaret aut posse fieri putaret? 195. Cum is hoc probare vellet, M'. Curium, cum ita heres institutus esset, 'si pupillus ante mortuus esset, quam in suam tutelam venisset,' pupillo non nato heredem esse non posse: quid ille non dixit de testamentorum jure? de antiquis formulis? quem ad modum scribi oportuisset, si etiam filio non nato heres institueretur? 196. quam captiosum esset populo, quod scriptum esset negligi, et opinione quæri voluntates, et interpretatione disertorum scripta simplicium hominum pervertere? 197. Quam ille multa de auctoritate patris sui, qui semper jus illud esse defenderat? quam omnino multa de conservando jure civili? quæ quidem omnia cum perite et scienter, item breviter et presse et satis ornate et pereleganter diceret, quis esset in populo, qui fieri posse quidquam melius putaret?

LIII. At vero, ut contra Crassus ab adolescente delicato, qui in litore ambulans scalmum repperisset, ob eamque rem ædificare navem concupivisset, exorsus est, similiter Scævolam ex uno scalmo captionis centumvirale judicium hereditatis effecisse: hoc illo initio consecutus multis ejusdem generis sententiis delectavit animosque omnium, qui aderant, in hilaritatem a severitate traduxit: quod est unum ex tribus, quæ dixi ab oratore effici debere. Deinde hoc voluisse eum, qui testamentum fecisset,

hoc sensisse: quoquo modo filius non esset, qui in suam tutelam veniret, sive non natus sive ante mortuus, Curius heres ut esset; ita scribere plerosque et id valere et valuisse semper. Hæc et multa ejusmodi dicens fidem faciebat: quod est ex tribus oratoris officiis alterum. 198. Deinde æquum bonum, testamentorum sententias voluntatesque tutatus est: quanta esset in verbis captio, cum in ceteris rebus, tum in testamentis, si negligerentur voluntates; quantam sibi potentiam Scævola assumeret, si nemo auderet testamentum facere postea nisi de illius sententia. Hæc cum graviter, tum ab exemplis copiose, tum varie, tum etiam ridicule et facete explicans eam admirationem assensionemque commovit, dixisse ut contra nemo videretur. Hoc erat oratoris officium partitione tertium, genere maximum. Hic ille de populo judex, qui separatim alterum admiratus esset, idem audito altero judicium suum contemneret; at vero intelligens et doctus audiens Scævolam sentiret esse quoddam uberius dicendi genus et ornatius. Ab utroque autem, causa perorata, si quæreretur, uter præstaret orator, nunquam profecto sapientis judicium a judicio vulgi discreparet.

LIV. 199. Quî præstat igitur intelligens imperito? Magna re et difficili: siquidem magnum est scire, quibus rebus efficiatur amittaturve dicendo illud quidquid est, quod aut effici dicendo oportet aut amitti non oportet. Præstat etiam illo doctus auditor indocto, quod sæpe, cum oratores duo aut plures populi judicio probantur, quod dicendi genus optimum sit, intelligit. Nam illud quod populo non probatur, ne intelligenti quidem oratori probari potest. Ut enim ex nervorum sono in fidibus, quam scienter ii pulsi sint, intelligi solet: sic ex animorum motu cernitur, quid tractandis his perficiat orator. 200. Itaque intelligens dicendi existimator non assidens et attente audiens, sed uno aspectu et præteriens de oratore sæpe judicat. Videt oscitantem judicem, loquentem cum altero, nonnunquam etiam circulantem, mittentem ad horas, quæsitorem, ut dimittat, rogantem: intelligit oratorem in ea causa non adesse, qui possit animis judicum admovere orationem, tanquam fidibus manum. Idem si præteriens aspexerit erectos intuentes judices, ut aut doceri de re, idque etiam vultu probare videantur, aut, ut avem cantu aliquo, sic illos viderit oratione, quasi suspensos, teneri, aut, id quo maxime opus est, misericordia, odio, motu animi aliquo perturbatos esse vehementius: ea si præteriens, ut dixi, aspexerit, si nihil audiverit, tamen oratorem versari in illo judicio et opus oratorium fieri, aut perfectum jam esse, profecto intelliget.

LV. 201. Cum hæc disseruissem, uterque assensus est; et ego tanquam de integro ordiens, Quando igitur, inquam, a Cotta

et Sulpicio hæc omnis fluxit oratio, cum hos maxime judicio illorum hominum et illius ætatis dixissem probatos, revertar ad eos ipsos; tum reliquos, ut institui, deinceps persequar. Quoniam ergo oratorum bonorum—hos enim quærimus—duo genera sunt, unum, attenuate presseque, alterum sublate ampleque dicentium; etsi id melius est, quod splendidius et magnificentius, tamen in bonis omnia quæ summa sunt jure laudantur. 202. Sed cavenda est presso illi oratori inopia et jejunitas, amplo autum inflatum et corruptum orationis genus. Inveniebat igitur acute Cotta, dicebat pure ac solute; et ut ad infirmitatem laterum perscienter contentionem omnem remiserat, sic ad virium imbecillitatem dicendi accommodabat genus. Nihil erat in ejus oratione nisi sincerum, nihil nisi siccum atque sanum; illudque maximum, quod, cum contentione orationis flectere animos judicum vix posset, nec omnino eo genere diceret, tractando tamen impellebat, ut idem facerent a se commoti, quod a Sulpicio concitati. 203. Fuit enim Sulpicius vel maxime omnium, quos quidem ego audiverim, grandis et, ut ita dicam, tragicus orator. Vox cum magna, tum suavis et splendida; gestus et motus corporis ita venustus, ut tamen ad forum, non ad scenam institutus videretur; incitata et volubilis, nec ea redundans tamen, nec circumfluens oratio. Crassum hic volebat imitari, Cotta malebat Antonium; sed ab hoc vis aberat Antonii, Crassi ab illo lepos. 204. O magnam, inquit, artem! Brutus: si quidem istis, cum summi essent oratores, duæ res maximæ altera alteri defuit.

LVI. Atque, inquam, in his oratoribus illud animadvertendum est, posse esse summos qui inter se sint dissimiles. Nihil enim tam dissimile quam Cotta Sulpicio, et uterque æqualibus suis plurimum præstitit. Quare hoc doctoris intelligentis est videre, quo ferat natura sua quemque, et ea duce utentem sic instituere, ut Isocratem in acerrimo ingenio Theopompi et lenissimo Ephori dixisse traditum est, alteri se calcaria adhibere, alteri frenos. 205. Sulpicii orationes quæ feruntur, eas post mortem ejus scripsisse P. Canutius putatur, æqualis meus, homo extra nostrum ordinem meo judicio disertissimus. Ipsius Sulpicii nulla oratio est; sæpeque ex eo audivi, cum se scribere neque consuesse neque posse diceret. Cottæ pro se lege Varia quæ inscribitur, eam L. Ælius scripsit Cottæ rogatu. Fuit is omnino vir egregius, et eques Romanus cum primis honestus, idemque eruditissimus et Græcis litteris et Latinis, antiquitatisque nostræ et in inventis rebus, et in actis, scriptorumque veterum litterate peritus. Quam scientiam Varro

noster acceptam ab illo, auctamque per sese, vir ingenio præstans, omnique doctrina, pluribus et illustrioribus litteris explicavit. 206. Sed idem Ælius stoicus esse voluit, orator autem nec studuit unquam nec fuit; scribebat tamen orationes, quas alii dicerent, ut Q. Metello* F., ut Q. Cæpioni, ut Q. Pompeio Rufo; quanquam is etiam ipse scripsit eas, quibus pro se est usus, sed non sine Ælio. 207. His enim scriptis etiam ipse interfui, cum essem apud Ælium adolescens, eumque audire perstudiose solerem. Cottam autem miror, summum ipsum oratorem, minimeque ineptum, Ælianas leves oratiunculas voluisse existimari suas.

LVII. His duobus ejusdem ætatis annumerabatur nemo tertius; sed mihi placebat Pomponius maxime, vel dicam minime displicebat. Locus erat omnino in maximis causis præter eos, de quibus supra dixi, nemini: propterea quod Antonius, qui maxime expetebatur, facilis in causis recipiendis erat; fastidiosior Crassus, sed tamen recipiebat. Horum qui neutrum habebat, confugiebat ad Philippum fere aut ad Cæsarem: * * Cotta et Sulpicius expetebantur. Ita ab his sex patronis causæ illustres agebantur; neque tam multa quam nostra ætate judicia fiebant, neque hoc, quod nunc fit, ut causæ singulæ defenderentur a pluribus, quo nihil est vitiosius. 208. Respondemus eis quos non audivimus: in quo primum sæpe aliter est dictum, aliter ad nos relatum; deinde magni interest coram videre me, quem ad modum adversarius de quaque re asseveret, maxime autem, quem ad modum quæque res audiatur. Sed nihil vitiosius quam, cum unum corpus debeat esse defensionis, nasci de integro causam, cum sit ab altero perorata. 209. Omnium enim causarum unum est naturale principium, una peroratio; reliquæ partes, quasi membra suo quæque loco locata, suam et vim et dignitatem tenent. Cum autem difficile sit in longa oratione non aliquando aliquid ita dicere, ut sibi ipse non conveniat: quanto difficilius cavere, ne quid dicas, quod non conveniat ejus orationi qui ante te dixerit? Sed quia et labor multo major est totam causam, quam partem, dicere, et quia plures ineuntur gratiæ, si uno tempore dicas pro pluribus, idcirco hanc consuetudinem libenter adscivimus.

LVIII. 210. Erant tamen quibus videretur illius ætatis tertius Curio, quia splendidioribus fortasse verbis utebatur et quia Latine non pessime loquebatur usu, credo, aliquo domestico. Nam litterarum admodum nihil sciebat; sed magni interest, quos quisque audiat quotidie domi, quibuscum loquatur a puero, quem ad modum patres, pædagogi, matres etiam

loquantur. 211. Legimus epistolas Corneliæ, matris Gracchorum: apparet, filios non tam in gremio educatos quam in sermone matris. Auditus est nobis Læliæ C. F. sæpe sermo: ergo illam patris elegantia tinctam vidimus, et filias ejus Mucias ambas, quarum sermo mihi fuit notus, et neptes Licinias, quas nos quidem ambas, hanc vero Scipionis etiam tu, Brute, credo, aliquando audisti loquentem. Ego vero, ac libenter quidem, inquit Brutus; et eo libentius, quod L. Crassi erat filia. 212. Quid Crassum, inquam, illum censes, istius Liciniæ filium, Crassi testamento qui fuit adoptatus? Summo iste quidem dicitur ingenio fuisse, inquit; et vero hic Scipio, collega meus, mihi sane bene et loqui videtur et dicere. Recte, inquam, judicas, Brute; et enim istius genus est ex ipsius sapientiæ stirpe generatum. Nam et de duobus avis jam diximus, Scipione et Crasso, et de tribus proavis, Q. Metello, cujus quattuor filii, P. Scipione, qui ex dominatu Ti. Gracchi privatus in libertatem rem publicam vindicavit, Q. Scævola augure, qui peritissimus juris idemque percomis est habitus. 213. Jam duorum abavorum quam est illustre nomen, P. Scipionis, qui bis consul fuit, qui est Corculum dictus, alterius omnium sapientissimi, C. Lælii? O generosam, inquit, stirpem et tanquam in unam arborem plura genera, sic in istam domum multorum insitam atque innatam sapientiam!

LIX. Similiter igitur suspicor, ut conferamus parva magnis, Curionis, etsi pupillus relictus est, patrio fuisse instituto puro sermone assuefactam domum; et eo magis hoc judico, quod neminem ex his quidem, qui aliquo in numero fuerunt, cognovi in omni genere honestarum artium tam indoctum, tam rudem. 214. Nullum ille poëtam noverat, nullum legerat oratorem, nullam memoriam antiquitatis collegerat; non publicum jus, non privatum et civile cognoverat. Quanquam hoc quidem fuit etiam in aliis et magnis quidem oratoribus, quos parum his instructos artibus vidimus, ut Sulpicium, ut Antonium. Sed ii tamen unum illud habebant dicendi opus elaboratum; idque cum constaret ex quinque notissimis partibus, nemo in aliqua parte earum omnino nihil poterat: in quacumque enim una plane clauderet, orator esse non posset. 215. Sed tamen alius in alia excellebat magis. Reperiebat quid dici opus esset, et quo modo præparari, et quo loco locari, memoriaque ea comprehendebat Antonius; excellebat autem actione; erantque ei quædam ex his paria cum Crasso, quædam etiam superiora; at Crassi magis enitebat oratio. Nec vero Sulpicio neque Cottæ dicere possumus neque cuiquam bono oratori rem ullam ex illis quinque partibus plane atque omnino defuisse. 216. Itaque in Curione hoc

verissime judicari potest, nulla re una magis oratorem commendari quam verborum splendore et copia. Nam cum tardus in cogitando tum in struendo dissipatus fuit.

LX. Reliqua duo sunt, agere et meminisse: in utroque cachinnos irridentium commovebat. Motus erat is, quem et C. Julius in perpetuum notavit, cum ex eo in utramque partem toto corpore vacillante quæsivit, quis loqueretur e lintre, et Cn. Sicinnius, homo impurus, sed admodum ridiculus, neque aliud in eo oratoris simile quicquam. 217. Is cum tribunus plebis Curionem et Octavium consules produxisset, Curioque multa dixisset sedente Cn. Octavio collega, qui devinctus erat fasciis et multis medicamentis propter dolorem artuum delibutus, 'Nunquam,' inquit, 'Octavi, collegæ tuo gratiam referes: qui nisi se suo more jactavisset, hodie te istic muscæ comedissent.' Memoria autem ita fuit nulla, ut aliquoties tria cum proposuisset, aut quartum adderet, aut tertium quæreret: qui in judicio privato vel maximo, cum ego pro Titinia Cottæ peroravissem, ille contra me pro Ser. Nævio diceret, subito totam causam oblitus est, idque veneficiis et cantionibus Titiniæ factum esse dicebat. 218. Magna hæc immemoris ingenii signa; sed nihil turpius, quam quod etiam in scriptis oblivisceretur, quid paulo ante posuisset: ut in eo libro, ubi se exeuntem e senatu, et cum Pansa nostro et cum Cūrione filio colloquentem facit, omnisque ille sermo ductus est e percontatione filii, quid in senatu esset actum. In quo multis verbis cum inveheretur in Cæsarem Curio, disputatioque esset inter eos, ut est consuetudo dialogorum, cum sermo esset institutus, senatu misso, quem senatum Cæsar consul habuisset, reprehendit eas res, quas idem Cæsar anno post et deinceps reliquis annis administravisset in Gallia.

LXI. 219. Tum Brutus admirans, Tantamne fuisse oblivionem, inquit, in scripto præsertim, ut ne legens quidem unquam senserit, quantum flagitii commisisset? Quid, autem, inquam, Brute, stultius quam, si ea vituperare volebat quæ vituperavit, non eo tempore instituere sermonem, cum illarum rerum jam tempora præterissent? Sed ita totus errat, ut in eodem sermone dicat, in senatum se Cæsare consule non accedere, sed id dicat ipso consule exiens e senatu. Jam qui hac parte animi, quæ custos est ceterarum ingenii partium, tam debilis esset, ut ne in scripto quidem meminisset, quid paulo ante posuisset, huic minime mirum est ex tempore dicenti solitam effluere mentem. 220. Itaque cum ei nec officium deesset, et flagraret studio dicendi, perpaucæ ad eum causæ

deferebantur. Orator autem vivis ejus æqualibus proximus optimis numerabatur propter verborum bonitatem, ut ante dixi, et expeditam ac profluentem quodam modo celeritatem. Itaque ejus orationes ăspiciendas tamen censeo. Sunt illæ quidem languidiores, verum tamen possunt augere et quasi alere id bonum, quod in illo mediocriter fuisse concedimus; quod habet tantam vim, ut solum sine aliis in Curione speciem oratoris alicujus effecerit. Sed ad instituta redeamus.

LXII. 221. In eodem igitur numero ejusdem ætatis C. Carbo fuit, illius eloquentissimi viri filius. Is non satis acutus orator, sed tamen orator numeratus est. Erat in verbis gravitas, et facile dicebat, et auctoritatem naturalem quandam habebat oratio. Acutior Q. Varius rebus inveniendis nec minus verbis expeditus; fortis vero actor et vehemens et verbis nec inops nec abjectus, et, quem plane oratorem dicere auderes, Cn. Pomponius, lateribus pugnans, incitans animos, acer, acerbus, criminosus. 222. Multum ab his aberat L. Fufius, tamen ex accusatione M'. Aquilii diligentiæ fructum ceperat. Nam M. Drusum, tuum magnum avunculum, gravem oratorem ita duntaxat, cum de re publica diceret, L. autem Lucullum etiam acutum, patremque tuum, Brute, juris quoque et publici et privati sane peritum, M. Lucullum, M. Octavium, Cn. F., qui tantum auctoritate dicendoque valuit, ut legem Semproniam frumentariam populi frequentis suffragiis abrogaverit, Cn. Octavium M. F., M. Catonem patrem, Q. etiam Catulum filium abducamus ex acie, id est ab judiciis, et in præsidiis rei publicæ, cui facile satisfacere possint, collocemus. 223. Eodem Q. Cæpionem referrem, nisi nimis equestri ordini deditus a senatu dissedisset. Cn. Carbonem, M. Marium et ex eodem genere complures, minime dignos elegantis conventus auribus, aptissimos cognovi turbulentis contionibus. Quo in genere, ut in his perturbem ætatum ordinum, nuper L. Quinctius fuit; aptior etiam Palicanus auribus imperitorum. 224. Et quoniam hujus generis facta mentio est, seditiosorum omnium post Gracchos L. Appuleius Saturninus eloquentissimus visus est; magis specie tamen, et motu, atque ipso amictu capiebat homines quam aut dicendi copia, aut mediocritate prudentiæ. Longe autem post natos homines improbissimus C. Servilius Glaucia, sed peracutus, et callidus, cum primisque ridiculus. Is ex summis et fortunæ et vitæ sordibus in prætura consul factus esset, si rationem ejus haberi licere judicatum esset; nam et plebem tenebat, et equestrem ordinem beneficio legis devinxerat. Is prætor eodem die, quo Saturninus tribunus plebis, Mario et

Flacco consulibus, publice est interfectus: homo simillimus Atheniensis Hyperboli, cujus improbitatem veteres Atticorum comœdiæ notaverunt. 225. Quos Sex. Titius consecutus, homo loquax sane et satis acutus, sed tam solutus et mollis in gestu, ut saltatio quædam nasceretur, cui saltationi Titius nomen esset. Ita cavendum est ne quid in agendo dicendove facias, cujus imitatio rideatur.

LXIII. Sed ad paulo superiorem ætatem revecti sumus; nunc ad eam, de qua aliquantum sumus locuti, revertamur.

226. Conjunctus igitur Sulpicii ætati P. Antistius fuit, rabula sane probabilis, qui multos cum tacuisset annos, neque contemni solum, sed irrideri etiam solitus esset, in tribunatu primum contra C. Julii illam consulatus petitionem extraordinariam, veram causam agens, est probatus; et eo magis, quod eandem causam cum ageret ejus collega, ille ipse Sulpicius, hic plura et acutiora dicebat. Itaque post tribunatum primo multæ ad eum causæ, deinde omnes, maximæ quæcunque erant, deferebantur. 227. Rem videbat acute, componebat diligenter, memoria valebat; verbis non ille quidem ornatis utebatur, sed tamen non abjectis. Expedita autem erat et perfacile currens oratio; et erat ejus quidam tanquam habitus non inurbanus; actio paulum, cum vitio vocis, tum etiam ineptiis claudicabat. Hic temporibus floruit eis, quibus inter profectionem reditumque L. Sullæ sine jure fuit, et sine ulla dignitate res publica; hoc etiam magis probabatur, quod erat ab oratoribus quædam in foro solitudo: Sulpicius occiderat, Cotta aberat, et Curio; vivebat e reliquis patronis ejus ætatis nemo præter Carbonem et Pomponium, quorum utrumque facile superabat.

LXIV. 228. Inferioris autem ætatis erat proximus L. Sisenna, doctus vir et studiis optimis deditus, bene Latine loquens, gnarus rei publicæ, non sine facetiis, sed neque laboris multi nec satis versatus in causis; interjectusque inter duas ætates Hortensii et Sulpicii nec majorem consequi poterat, et minori necesse erat cedere. Hujus omnis facultas ex historia ipsius perspici potest; quæ cum facile omnes vincat superiores, tum indicat tamen, quantum absit a summo, quamque genus hoc scriptionis nondum sit satis Latinis litteris illustratum. Nam Q. Hortensii admodum adolescentis ingenium, ut Phidiæ signum, simul aspectum, et probatum est. 229. Is, L. Crasso Q. Scævola consulibus, primum in foro dixit, et apud hos ipsos quidem consules, et cum eorum qui affuerunt, tum ipsorum consulum, qui omnes intelligentia anteibant, judicio discessit probatus. Undeviginti annos natus erat eo tempore; est autem

L. Paulo, C. Marcello consulibus mortuus: ex quo videmus, eum in patronorum numero annos quattuor et quadraginta fuisse. Hoc de oratore paulo post plura dicemus; hoc autem loco voluimus ejus ætatem in disparem oratorum ætatem includere. Quanquam id quidem omnibus usu venire necesse fuit, quibus paulo longior vita contigit, ut, et cum multo majoribus natu quam essent ipsi, et cum aliquanto minoribus compararentur; ut Accius iisdem ædilibus ait se et Pacuvium docuisse fabulam, cum ille octoginta, ipse triginta annos natus esset. 230. Sic Hortensius non cum suis æqualibus solum, sed et mea cum ætate et cum tua, Brute, et cum aliquanto superiore conjungitur: si quidem et Crasso vivo dicere solebat, et magis etiam vigebat Antonio etiam tum*, et Philippo, jam sene, pro Cn. Pompeii bonis dicente, in illa causa, adolescens cum esset, princeps fuit, et in eorum, quos in Sulpicii ætate posui, numerum facile pervenerat, et suos inter æquales, M. Pisonem, M. Crassum, Cn. Lentulum, P. Lentulum Suram longe præstitit, et me adolescentem nactus, octo annis minorem quam erat ipse, multos annos in studio ejusdem laudis exercuit, et tecum simul, sicut ego pro multis, sic ille pro Appio Claudio dixit paulo ante mortem.

LXV. 231. Vides igitur, ut ad te oratorem, Brute, pervenerimus, tam multis inter nostrum tuumque initium dicendi interpositis oratoribus; ex quibus, quoniam in hoc sermone nostro statui neminem, eorum qui viverent, nominare, ne vos curiosius eliceretis ex me, quid de quoque judicarem, eos qui jam sunt mortui nominabo. Tum Brutus, Non est, inquit, ista causa quam dicis, quam ob rem de eis, qui vivunt, nihil velis dicere. Quænam igitur, inquam, est? Vereri te, inquit, arbitror, ne per nos hic sermo tuus emanet, et ii tibi succenseant, quos præterieris. Quid? Vos, inquam, tacere non poteritis? Nos quidem, inquit, facillime; sed tamen te arbitror malle ipsum tacere, quam taciturnitatem nostram experiri. 232. Tum ego, Vere tibi, inquam, Brute, dicam. Non me existimavi in hoc sermone usque ad hanc ætatem esse venturum; sed ita traxit ordo ætatum orationem, ut jam ad minores etiam pervenerim. Interpone igitur, inquit, si quos videtur; deinde redeamus ad te et ad Hortensium. Immo vero, inquam, ad Hortensium; de me alii dicent, si qui volent. Minime vero, inquit. Nam etsi me facile omni tuo sermone tenuisti, tamen is mihi longior videtur, quod propero audire de te; nec vero tam de virtutibus dicendi tuis, quæ, cum omnibus, tum certe mihi notissimæ sunt, quam quod gradus tuos et quasi processus dicendi studeo cognoscere. 233. Geretur,

iuquam, tibi mos, quoniam me non ingenii prædicatorem esse vis sed laboris mei. Verum interponam, ut placet, alios et a M. Crasso, qui fuit æqualis Hortensii, exordiar.

LXVI. Is igitur mediocriter a doctrina instructus, angustius etiam a natura, labore et industria, et quod adhibebat ad obtinendas causas curam etiam et gratiam, in principibus patronis aliquot annos fuit. In hujus oratione sermo Latinus erat, verba non abjecta, res compositæ diligenter, nullus flos tamen neque lumen ullum, animi magna, vocis parva contentio, omnia fere ut similiter, atque uno modo dicerentur. Nam hujus æqualis et inimicus C. Fimbria non ita diu jactare se potuit; qui omnia magna voce dicens, verborum sane bonorum cursu quodam incitato ita furebat tamen, ut mirarere tam alias res agere populum, ut esset insano inter disertos locus. 234. Cn. autem Lentulus multo majorem opinionem dicendi actione faciebat, quam quanta in eo facultas erat; qui cum esset nec peracutus, quanquam et ex facie et ex vultu videbatur, nec abundans verbis, etsi fallebat in eo ipso, sic intervallis, exclamationibus, voce suavi et canora, admirando irridebat, calebat in agendo, ut ea, quæ deerant, non desiderarentur. 235. Ita tanquam Curio, copia nonnulla verborum, nullo alio bono, tenuit oratorum locum, sic Lentulus ceterarum virtutum dicendi mediocritatem actione occultavit, in qua excellens fuit. Neque multo secus P. Lentulus; cujus et excogitandi et loquendi tarditatem tegebat formæ dignitas, corporis motus plenus et artis et venustatis, vocis et suavitas et magnitudo. Sic in hoc nihil præter actionem fuit, cetera etiam minora quam in superiore.

LXVII. 236. M. Piso, quidquid habuit, habuit ex disciplina, maximeque ex omnibus, qui ante fuerunt, Græcis doctrinis eruditus fuit. Habuit a natura genus quoddam acuminis, quod etiam arte limaverat, quod erat in reprehendendis verbis versutum et sollers, sed sæpe stomachosum, nonnunquam frigidum, interdum etiam facetum. Is laborem forensem diutius non tulit, quod et corpore erat infirmo et hominum ineptias ac stultitias, quæ devorandæ nobis sunt, non ferebat, iracundiusque respuebat, sive morose, ut putabatur, sive ingenuo liberoque fastidio. Is cum satis floruisset adolescens, minor haberi est cœptus postea; deinde ex virginum judicio magnam laudem est adeptus, et ex eo tempore, quasi revocatus in cursum, tenuit locum tam diu, quam ferre potuit laborem; postea quantum detraxit ex studio, tantum amisit ex gloria. 237. P. Murena mediocri ingenio, sed magno studio rerum

veterum, litterarum et studiosus, et non imperitus, multæ industriæ et magni laboris fuit. C. Censorinus Græcis litteris satis doctus, quod proposuerat explicans expedite, non invenustus actor, sed iners et inimicus fori. L. Turius parvo ingenio, sed multo labore, quoquo modo poterat, sæpe dicebat; itaque ei paucæ centuriæ ad consulatum defuerunt. 238. C. Macer auctoritate semper egtiit, sed fuit patronus propemodum diligentissimus. Hujus si vita, si mores, si vultus denique non omnem commendationem ingenii everteret, majus nomen in patrcnis fuisset. Non erat abundans, non inops tamen, non valde nitens, non plane horrida oratio; vox, gestus, et omnis actio sine lepore; at in inveniendis componendisque rebus mira accuratio, ut non facile in ullo diligentiorem majoremque cognoverim, sed eam, ut citius veteratoriam quam oratoriam diceres. Hic etsi etiam in publicis causis probabatur, tamen in privatis illustriorem obtinebat locum.

LXVIII. 239. C. deinde Piso statarius et sermonis plenus orator, minime ille quidem tardus in excogitando, verum tamen vultu et simulatione multo etiam acutior, quam erat, videbatur. Nam ejus æqualem M'. Glabrionem, bene institutum avi Scævolæ diligentia, socors ipsius natura negligensque tardaverat. Etiam L. Torquatus elegans in dicendo, in existimando admodum prudens, toto genere perurbanus. Meus autem æqualis Cn. Pompeius, vir ad omnia summa natus, majorem dicendi gloriam habuisset, nisi eum majoris gloriæ cupiditas ad bellicas laudes abstraxisset. Erat oratione satis amplus, rem prudenter videbat; actio vero ejus habebat et in voce magnum splendorem, et in motu summam dignitatem. 240. Noster item æqualis D. Silanus, vitricus tuus, studii ille quidem habuit non multum, sed acuminis et orationis satis. Q. Pompeius A. F., qui Bithynicus dictus est, biennio quam nos fortasse major, summo studio dicendi multaque doctrina, incredibili labore atque industria. Quod scire possum; fuit enim mecum et cum M. Pisone cum amicitia tum studiis exercitationibusque conjunctus. Hujus actio non satis commendabat orationem; in hac enim satis erat copiæ, in illa autem leporis parum. Erat ejus æqualis P. Autronius, voce peracuta atque magna, nec alia re ulla probabilis, et L. Octavius Reatinus, qui cum multas jam causas diceret, adolescens est mortuus,—is tamen ad dicendum veniebat magis audacter quam parate—; et C. Staienus, qui se ipse adoptaverat, et de Staieno Ælium fecerat, fervido quodam, ct petulanti, et furioso genere dicendi; quod quia multis gratum erat et probabatur, ascendisset ad honores, nisi in

facinore manifesto deprehensus pœnas legibus et judicio dedisset.

LXIX. 242. Eodem tempore C., L. Cæpasii fratres fuerunt, qui multa opera, ignoti homines et repentini, quæstores celeriter facti sunt oppidano quodam, et incondito genere dicendi. Addamus huc etiam, ne quem vocalem præterisse videamur, C. Cosconium Calidianum, qui nullo acumine eam tamen verborum copiam, si quam habebat, præbebat populo cum multa concursatione magnoque clamore. Quod idem faciebat Q. Arrius, qui fuit M. Crassi quasi secundarum. Is omnibus exemplo debet esse, quantum in hac urbe polleat multorum obedire tempori, multorumque vel honori, vel periculo servire. 243. His enim rebus infimo loco natus et honores, et pecuniam, et gratiam consecutus etiam in patronorum—sine doctrina, sine ingenio—aliquem numerum pervenerat. Sed ut pugiles inexercitati, etiam si pugnos et plagas, Olympiorum cupidi, ferre possunt, solem tamen sæpe ferre non possunt, sic ille, cum omni jam fortuna prospere functus, labores etiam magnos excepisset, illius judicialis anni severitatem, quasi solem, non tulit.

244. Tum Atticus, Tu quidem de fæce, inquit, hauris, idque jam dudum, sed tacebam; hoc vero non putabam, te usque ad Staienos et Autronios esse venturum. Non puto, inquam, existimare te ambitione me labi, quippe de mortuis; sed ordinem sequens in memoriam notam et æqualem necessario incurro. Volo autem hoc perspici, omnibus conquisitis, qui in multitudine dicere ausi sint, memoria quidem dignos perpaucos, verum qui omnino nomen habuerint non ita multos fuisse. Sed ad sermonem institutum revertamur.

LXX. 245. T. Torquatus T. F. et doctus vir ex Rhodia disciplina Molonis et a natura ad dicendum satis solutus atque expeditus, cui si vita suppeditavisset, sublato ambitu, consul factus esset, plus facultatis habuit ad dicendum quam voluntatis. Itaque studio huic non satisfecit, officio vero nec in suorum necessariorum causis nec in sententia senatoria defuit. 246. Etiam M. Pontidius, municeps noster multas privatas causas actitavit, celeriter sane verba volvens nec hebes in causis, vel dicam plus etiam quam non hebes, sed effervescens in dicendo stomacho sæpe iracundiaque vehementius: ut non cum adversario solum, sed etiam, quod mirabile esset, cum judice ipso, cujus delinitor esse debet orator, jurgio sæpe contenderet. M. Messalla, minor natu quam nos, nullo modo inops, sed non nimis ornatus genere verborum; prudens, acutus, minime incautus patronus, in causis cognoscendis componendisque diligens,

magni laboris, multæ operæ multarumque causarum. 247. Duo etiam Metelli, Celer et Nepos, non nihil in causis versati, nec sine ingenio nec indocti hoc erant populare dicendi genus assecuti. Cn. autem Lentulus Marcellinus nec unquam indisertus et in consulatu pereloquens visus est, non tardus sententiis, non inops verbis, voce canora, facetus satis. C. Memmius L. F. perfectus litteris, sed Græcis, fastidiosus sane Latinarum; argutus orator verbisque dulcis, sed fugiens non modo dicendi, verum etiam cogitandi laborem, tantum sibi de facultate detraxit, quantum imminuit industriæ.

LXXI. 248. Hoc loco Brutus, Quam vellem, inquit, de his etiam oratoribus, qui hodie sunt, tibi dicere liberet; et, si de aliis minus, de duobus tamen, quos a te scio laudari solere, Cæsare et Marcello, audirem non minus libenter, quam audivi de eis, qui fuerunt. Cur tandem? inquam, an exspectas, quid ego judicem de istis, qui tibi sunt æque noti ac mihi? Mihi mehercule, inquit, Marcellus satis est notus, Cæsar autem parum; illum enim sæpe audivi; hic, cum ego judicare jam aliquid possem, abfuit. 249. Quid igitur de illo judicas, inquam, quem sæpe audivisti? Quid censes, inquit, nisi id, quod habiturus es similem tui? Næ ego, inquam, si ita est, velim tibi eum placere quam maxime. Atqui et ita est, inquit, et vehementer placet; nec vero sine causa. Nam et didicit et, omissis ceteris studiis unum id egit seseque quotidianis commentationibus acerrime exercuit. 250. Itaque et lectis utitur verbis et frequentibus sententiis, et splendore vocis, et dignitate motus fit speciosum et illustre quod dicit, omniaque sic suppetunt, ut ei nullam deesse virtutem oratoris putem; maximeque laudandus est, qui hoc tempore ipso, quod liceat in hoc communi nostro et quasi fatali malo, consoletur se cum conscientia optimæ mentis tum etiam usurpatione et renovatione doctrinæ. Vidi enim Mitylenis nuper virum atque, ut dixi, vidi plane virum. Itaque cum eum antea tui similem in dicendo viderim, tum vero nunc a doctissimo viro tibique, ut intellexi, amicissimo, Cratippo, instructum omni copia multo videbam similiorem. 251. Hic ego, Etsi, inquam, de optimi viri nobisque amicissimi laudibus libenter audio, tamen incurro in memoriam communium miseriarum, quarum oblivionem quærens hunc ipsum sermonem produxi longius. Sed de Cæsare cupio audire, quid tandem Atticus judicet.

LXXII. Et ille, Præclare, inquit, tibi constas, ut de eis qui nunc sint nihil velis ipse dicere; et hercule si sic ageres, ut de eis egisti qui jam mortui sunt, neminem ut prætermitteres, næ

tu in multos Autronios et Staienos incurreres. Qua re sive hanc turbam effugere voluisti, sive veritus es, ne quis se aut præteritum, aut non satis laudatum queri posset, de Cæsare tamen potuisti dicere, præsertim cum et tuum de illius ingenio notissimum judicium esset, nec illius de tuo obscurum. 252. Sed tamen, Brute, inquit Atticus, de Cæsare et ipse ita judico et de hoc hujus generis acerrimo existimatore sæpissime audio, illum omnium fere oratorum Latine loqui elegantissime; nec id solum domestica consuetudine, ut dudum de Læliorum et Muciorum familiis audiebamus, sed, quanquam id quoque credo fuisse, tamen, ut esset perfecta illa bene loquendi laus, multis litteris et eis quidem reconditis et exquisitis summoque studio et diligentia est consecutus. 253. Qui etiam in maximis occupationibus ad te ipsum, inquit, in me intuens, de ratione Latine loquendi accuratissime scripserit primoque in libro dixerit, verborum delectum originem esse eloquentiæ tribueritque, mi Brute, huic nostro, qui me de illo maluit quam se, dicere, laudem singularem—nam scripsit his verbis, cum hunc nomine esset affatus: "ac si, ut cogitata præclare eloqui possent, nonnulli studio et usu elaboraverunt, hujus te pæne principem copiæ atque inventorem bene de nomine ac dignitute populi Romani meritum esse existimare debemus"—hunc facilem et et quotidianum novisse sermonem, nunc pro relicto est habendum."

LXXIII. 254. Tum Brutus, Amice, hercule, inquit, et magnifice te laudatum puto, quem non solum principem atque inventorem copiæ dixerit, quæ erat magna laus, sed etiam bene meritum de populi Romani nomine et dignitate. Quo enim uno vincebamur a victa Græcia, id aut ereptum illis est, aut certe nobis cum illis communicatum. 255. Hanc autem, inquit, gloriam testimoniumque Cæsaris tuæ quidem supplicationi non, sed triumphis multorum antepono. Et recte quidem, inquam, Brute; modo sit hoc Cæsaris judicii, non benevolentiæ testimonium. Plus enim certe attulit huic populo dignitatis, quisquis est ille, si modo est aliquis, qui non illustravit modo, sed etiam genuit in hac urbe dicendi copiam, quam illi, qui Ligurum castella expugnaverunt: ex quibus multi sunt, ut scitis, triumphi. 256. Verum quidem si audire volumus, omissis illis divinis consiliis, quibus sæpe constituta est imperatorum sapientia salus civitatis aut belli aut domi, multo magnus orator præstat minutis imperatoribus. At prodest plus imperator. Quis negat? sed tamen—non metuo ne mihi acclametis; est autem, puod sentias, dicendi libere locus—malim mihi L. Crassi unam

pro M'. Curio dictionem quam castellanos triumphos duo. At plus interfuit reipublicæ castellum capi Ligurum quam bene defendi causam M'. Curii. 257. Credo; sed Atheniensium quoque plus interfuit firma tecta in domiciliis habere quam Minervæ signum ex ebore pulcherrimum; tamen ego me Phidiam esse mallem quam vel optimum fabrum tignarium. Quare non quantum quisque prosit, sed quanti quisque sit, ponderandum est: præsertim cum pauci pingere egregie possint aut fingere, operarii autem aut bajuli deesse non possint.

LXXIV. 258. Sed perge, Pomponi, de Cæsare et redde quæ restant.

Solum quidem, inquit ille, et quasi fundamentum oratoris vides, locutionem emendatam et Latinam, cujus penes quos laus adhuc fuit, non fuit rationis aut scientiæ, sed quasi bonæ consuetudinis. Mitto C. Lælium, P. Scipionem: ætatis illius ista fuit laus, tanquam innocentiæ, sic Latine loquendi—nec omnium tamen, nam illorum æquales, Cæcilium et Pacuvium, male locutos videmus—, sed omnes tum fere, qui nec extra urbem hanc vixerant, nec eos aliqua barbaries domestica infuscaverat, recte loquebantur. Sed hanc certe rem deteriorem vetustas fecit et Romæ et in Græcia. Confluxerunt enim et Athenas et in hanc urbem multi inquinate loquentes ex diversis locis. Quo magis expurgandus est sermo et adhibenda, tanquam obrussa, ratio, quæ mutari non potest, nec utendum pravissima consuetudinis regula. 259. T. Flamininum, qui cum Q. Metello consul fuit, pueri vidimus: existimabatur bene Latine, sed litteras nesciebat. Catulus erat ille quidem minime indoctus, ut a te paulo est ante dictum, sed tamen suavitas vocis et lenis appellatio litterarum bene loquendi famam confecerat. Cotta, quia se valde dilatandis litteris a similitudine Græcæ locutionis abstraxerat, sonabatque contrarium Catulo, subagreste quiddam planeque subrusticum, alia quidem, quasi inculta et silvestri via, ad eandem laudem pervenerat. Sisenna autem, quasi emendator sermonis usitati cum esse vellet, ne a C. Rusio quidem accusatore deterri potuit, quo minus inusitatis verbis uteretur. 260. Quidnam istuc est? inquit Brutus; aut quis est iste C. Rusius? Et ille, Fuit accusator, inquit, vetus, quo accusante C. Hirtuleium, Sisenna defendens dixit, quædam ejus "sputatilica" esse crimina.

LXXV. Tum C. Rusius, Circumvenior, inquit, Judices, nisi subvenitis; Sisenna quid dicat, nescio, metuo insidias. "Sputatilica," quid est hoc? "sputa" quid sit scio, "tilica" nescio.—Maximi risus; sed ille tamen familiaris meus recte loqui putabat esse

inusitate loqui. 261. Cæsar autem rationem adhibens consuetudinem vitiosam et corruptam pura et incorrupta consuetudine emendat. Itaque cum ad hanc elegantiam verborum Latinorum—quæ, etiamsi orator non sis, et sis ingenuus civis Romanus, tamen necessaria est—adjungit illa oratoria ornamenta dicendi, tum videtur tanquam tabulas bene pictas collocare in bono lumine. Hanc cum habeat præcipuam laudem, in communibus non video cui debeat cedere. Splendidam quandam minimeque veteratoriam rationem dicendi tenet, voce, motu, forma etiam magnificam et generosam quodam modo. 262. Tum Brutus: Orationes quidem ejus mihi vehementer probantur; complures autem legi; atque etiam commentarios quosdam scripsit rerum suarum. Valde quidem, inquam, probandos; nudi enim sunt, recti et venusti, omni ornatu orationis tanquam veste detracta. Sed dum voluit alios habere parata, unde sumerent, qui vellent scribere historiam, ineptis gratum fortasse fecit, qui volent illa calamistris inurere: sanos quidem homines a scribendo deterruit; nihil est enim in historia pura et illustri brevitate dulcius. Sed ad eos, si placet, qui vita excesserunt, revertamur.

LXXVI. 263. C. Sicinius igitur Q. Pompeii illius, qui censor fuit, ex filia nepos, quæstorius mortuus est; probabilis orator, jam vero etiam probatus, ex hac inopi ad ornandum, sed ad inveniendum expedita Hermagoræ disciplina. Ea dat rationes certas et præcepta dicendi; quæ si minorem habent apparatum, sunt enim exilia, tamen habent ordinem et quasdam errare in dicendo non patientes vias. Has ille tenens, et paratus ad causas veniens, verborum non egens, ipsa illa comparatione disciplinaque dicendi jam in patronorum numerum pervenerat. 264. Erat etiam vir doctus in primis C. Visellius Varro, consobrinus meus, qui fuit cum Sicinio ætate conjunctus. Is cum post curulem ædilitatem judex quæstionis esset, est mortuus; in quo fateor vulgi judicium a judicio meo dissensisse. Nam populo non erat satis vendibilis: præceps quædam et cum idcirco obscura, quia peracuta, tum rapiditate et celeritate cæcata oratio; sed neque verbis aptiorem cito alium dixerim, neque sententiis crebriorem. Præterea perfectus in litteris, jurisque civilis jam a patre Aculeone traditam tenuit disciplinam. 265. Reliqui sunt, qui mortui sint, L. Torquatus, quem tu non tam cito rhetorem dixisses, etsi non deerat oratio, quam, ut Græci dicunt, πολιτικόν. Erant in eo plurimæ litteræ nec eæ vulgares, sed interiores quædam et reconditæ, divina memoria, summa verborum et gravitas et elegantia; atque hæc omnia vitæ decorabat dignitas et integritas. Me quidem admodum

delectabat etiam Triarii in illa ætate plena litteratæ senectutis oratio. Quanta severitas in vultu! quantum pondus in verbis! quam nihil non consideratum exibat ex ore! 266. Tum Brutus, Torquati et Triarii mentione commotus (utrumque enim eorum admodum dilexerat) Næ ego, inquit, ut omittam cetera, quæ sunt innumerabilia, de istis duobus cum cogito, doleo nihil tuam perpetuam auctoritatem de pace valuisse! Nam nec istos excellentes viros nec multos alios præstantes cives res publica perdidisset. Sileamus, inquam, Brute, de istis, ne augeamus dolorem; nam et præteritorum recordatio est acerba, et acerbior exspectatio reliquorum. Itaque omittamus lugere, et tantum quid quisque dicendo potuerit, quoniam id quærimus, prædicemus.

LXXVII. 267. Sunt etiam ex eis, qui eodem bello ociderunt, M. Bibulus, qui et scriptitavit accurate, cum præsertim non esset orator, et egit multa constanter; Appius Claudius, socer tuus, collega et familiaris meus: hic jam et satis studiosus et valde cum doctus, tum etiam exercitatus orator et cum auguralis, tum omnis publici juris antiquitatisque nostræ bene peritus fuit. L. Domitius nulla ille quidem arte, sed Latine tamen et multa cum libertate dicebat. 268. Duo præterea Lentuli consulares, quorum Publius ille nostrarum injuriarum ultor, auctor salutis, quidquid habuit, quantumcunque fuit, illud totum habuit e disciplina; instrumenta naturæ deerant; sed tantus animi splendor et tanta magnitudo, ut sibi omnia, quæ clarorum virorum essent, non dubitaret adsciscere eaque omni dignitate obtineret. L. autem Lentulus satis erat fortis orator, si modo orator; sed cogitandi non ferebat laborem. Vox canora, verba non horrida sane, ut plena esset animi et terroris oratio; quæreres in judiciis fortasse melius, in re publica quod erat, esse judicares satis. 269. Ne T. quidem Postumius contemnendus in dicendo; de re publica vero non minus vehemens orator quam bellator fuit, effrenatus et acer nimis, sed bene juris publici leges atque instituta cognoverat.

Hoc loco Atticus, Putarem te, inquit, ambitiosum esse, si ut dixisti, ii, quos jam diu colligis, viverent. Omnes enim commemoras, qui ausi aliquando sunt stantes loqui, ut mihi imprudens M. Servilium præterisse videare.

LXXVIII. 270. Non, inquam, ego istuc ignoro, Pomponi, multos fuisse, qui verbum nunquam in publico fecissent, cum melius aliquanto possent, quam isti oratores quos colligo, dicere; sed his commemorandis etiam illud assequor, ut intelligatis primum ex omni numero, quam non multi ausi sint dicere, deinde ex eis ipsis, quam pauci fuerint laude digni. 271. Itaque ne

hos quidem equites Romanos, amicos nostros, qui nuper mortui sunt,* P. Cominium Spoletinum, quo accusante defendi C. Cornelium, in quo et compositum dicendi genus et acre et expeditum fuit ; T. Accium Pisaurensem, cujus accusationi respondi pro A. Cluentio, qui et accurate dicebat, et satis copiose, eratque præterea doctus Hermagoræ præceptis, quibus etsi ornamenta non satis opima dicendi, tamen, ut hastæ velitibus amentatæ, sic apta quædam et parata singulis causarum generibus argumenta traduntur. 272. Studio autem neminem, nec industria majore cognovi,—quanquam ne ingenio quidem qui præstiterit, facile dixerim, C. Pisoni, genero meo. Nullum tempus illi unquam vacabat aut a forensi dictione aut a commentatione domestica aut a scribendo aut a cogitando. Itaque tantos processus efficiebat, ut evolare, non excurrere videretur ; eratque verborum et delectus elegans, et apta, et quasi rotunda constructio ; cumque argumenta excogitabantur ab eo multa, et firma ad probandum, tum concinnæ acutæque sententiæ ; gestusque natura ita venustus, ut ars etiam, quæ non erat, et e disciplina motus quidam videretur accedere. Vereor ne amore videar plura quam fuerint in illo dicere : quod non ita est ; alia enim de illo majora dici possunt. Nam nec continentia nec pietate nec ullo genere virtutis quenquam ejusdem ætatis cum illo conferendum puto.

LXXIX. 273. Nec vero M. Cælium prætereundum arbitror, quæcumque ejus in exitu vel fortuna vel mens fuit. Qui quamdiu auctoritati meæ paruit, talis tribunus plebis fuit, ut nemo contra civium perditorum popularem turbulentamque dementiam a senatu et a bonorum causa steterit constantius. *Quam ejus actionem multum tamen et splendida et grandis, et eadem in primis faceta et perurbana commendabat oratio. Graves ejus contiones aliquot fuerunt, acres accusationes tres, eæque omnes ex rei publicæ contentione susceptæ ; defensiones, etsi illa erant in eo meliora, quæ dixi, non contemnendæ tamen saneque tolerabiles. Hic cum summa voluntate bonorum ædilis curulis factus esset, nescio quo modo discessu meo discessit a sese, ceciditque, posteaquam eos imitari cœpit, quos ipse perverterat. 274. Sed de M. Calidio dicamus aliquid, qui non fuit orator unus e multis, potius inter multos prope singularis fuit : ita reconditas exquisitasque sententias mollis et pellucens vestiebat oratio. Nihil tam tenerum quam illius comprehensio verborum, nihil tam flexibile, nihil quod magis ipsius arbitrio fingeretur, ut nullius oratoris æque in potestate fuerit : quæ primum ita pura erat, ut nihil liquidius, ita libere fluebat, ut nusquam adhære-

sceret. Nullum, nisi loco positum, et tanquam in "vermiculato emblemate," ut ait Lucilius, structum verbum videres; nec vero ullum aut durum, aut insolens, aut humile, aut longius ductum: ac non propria verba rerum, sed pleraque translata, sic tamen ut ea non irruisse in alienum locum, sed, immigrasse in suum diceres; nec vero hæc soluta nec diffluentia, sed adstricta numeris, non aperte, nec eodem modo semper, sed varie dissimulanterque conclusis. 275 Erant autem et verborum et sententiarum illa lumina, quæ vocant Græci σχήματα, quibus tanquam insignibus in ornatu distinguebatur omnis oratio. "Qua de re agitur" autem illud, quod multis locis in jurisconsultorum includitur formulis, id ubi esset, videbat.

LXXX. 276. Accedebat ordo rerum plenus artis, actio liberalis, totumque dicendi placidum et sanum genus. Quodsi est optimum suaviter dicere, nihil est quod melius hoc quærendum putes. Sed cum a nobis paulo ante dictum sit, tria videri esse, quæ orator efficere deberet, ut doceret, ut delectaret, ut moveret, duo summe tenuit, ut et rem illustraret disserendo, et animos eorum, qui audirent, devinciret voluptate. Aberat tertia illa laus, qua permoveret atque incitaret animos, quam plurimum pollere diximus, nec erat ulla vis atque contentio: sive consilio, quod eos, quorum altior oratio, actioque esset ardentior, furere et bacchari arbitraretur, sive quod natura non esset ita factus, sive quod non consuesset, sive quod non posset. Hoc unum illi, si nihil utilitalis habebat, abfuit; si opus erat, defuit. 277. Quin etiam memini, cum in accusatione sua Q. Gallio crimini dedisset, sibi eum venenum paravisse, idque a se esse deprehensum, seseque chirographa, testificationes, indicia, quæstiones, manifestam rem, deferre diceret, deque eo crimine accurate et exquisite disputavisset, me in respondendo, cum essem argumentatus quantum res ferebat, hoc ipsum etiam posuisse pro argumento, quod ille, cum pestem capitis sui, cum indicia mortis se comperisse manifesto, et manu tenere diceret, tam soluto egisset, tam leniter, tam oscitanter. 278. "Tu istuc, M. Calidi, nisi fingeres, sic ageres? præsertim cum ista eloquentia alienorum hominum pericula defendere acerrime soleas, tuum negligeres? Ubi dolor? ubi ardor animi qui etiam ex infantium ingeniis elicere voces et querelas solet? Nulla perturbatio animi, nulla corporis; frons non percussa, non femur; pedis, quod minimum est, nulla supplosio. Itaque tantum abfuit, ut inflammares nostros animos: somnum isto loco vix tenebamus." Sic nos summi oratoris vel sanitate vel vitio pro argumento ad diluendum crimen usi sumus.

279. Tum Brutus, Atque dubitamus, inquit, utrum ista sanitas fuerit, an vitium? Quis enim non fateatur, cum ex omnibus oratoris laudibus longe ista sit maxima, inflammare animos audientium et, quocumque res postulet modo, flectere, qui hac virtute caruerit, id ei, quod maximum fuerit, defuisse?

LXXXI. Sit sane ita, inquam; sed redeamus ad eum, qui jam unus restat, Hortensium; tum de nobismet ipsis, quoniam id etiam, Brute, postulas, pauca dicemus. Quanquam facienda mentio est, ut quidem mihi videtur, duorum adolescentium, qui, si diutius vixissent, magnam essent eloquentiæ laudem consecuti. 280. C. Curionem te, inquit Brutus, et C. Licinium Calvum arbitror dicere.

Recte, inquam, arbitraris; quorum quidem alter ita facile soluteque verbis volvebat satis interdum acutas, crebras quidem certe sententias, ut nihil posset ornatius esse, nihil expeditius. Atque hic parum a magistris institutus naturam habuit admirabilem ad dicendum; industriam non sum expertus; studium certe fuit. Qui si me audire voluisset, ut cœperat, honores quam opes consequi maluisset. Quidnam est, inquit, istuc? et quem ad modum distinguis? Hoc modo, inquam. 281. Cum honos sit præmium virtutis judicio studioque civium delatum ad aliquem, qui eum sententiis, qui suffragiis adeptus est, is mihi et honestus et honoratus videtur. Qui autem occasione aliqua etiam invitis suis civibus nactus est imperium, ut ille cupiebat, hunc nomen honoris adeptum, non honorem puto. Quæ si ille audire voluisset, maxima cum gratia et gloria ad summam amplitudinem pervenisset, ascendens gradibus magistratuum, ut pater ejus fecerat, ut reliqui clariores viri. Quæ quidem etiam cum P. Crasso M. F. cum initio ætatis ad amicitiam se meam contulisset, sæpe egisse me arbitror, cum eum vehementer hortarer, ut eam laudis viam rectissimam esse duceret, quam majores ejus ei tritam reliquissent. 282. Erat enim cum institutus optime, tum etiam perfecte planeque eruditus, ineratque et ingenium satis acre, et orationis non inelegans copia; prætereaque sine arrogantia gravis esse videbatur, et sine segnitia verecundus. Sed hunc quoque absorbuit æstus quidam insolitæ adolescentibus gloriæ; qui quia navarat miles operam imperatori, imperatorem se statim esse cupiebat, cui muneri mos majorum ætatem certam, sortem incertam reliquit. Ita gravissimo suo casu, dum Cyri et Alexandri similis esse voluit, qui suum cursum transcurrerant, et L. Crassi et multorum Crassorum inventus est dissimillimus.

LXXXII. 283. Sed ad Calvum, is enim nobis erat propo-

situs, revertamur: qui orator fuit cum litteris eruditior quam Curio, tum etiam accuratius quoddam dicendi et exquisitius afferebat genus; quod quanquam scienter eleganterque tractabat, nimium tamen inquirens in se, atque ipse sese observans metuensque ne vitiosum colligeret, etiam verum sanguinem deperdebat. Itaque ejus oratio nimia religione attenuata, doctis et attente audientibus erat illustris, a multitudine autem et a foro, cui nata eloquentia est, devorabatur. 284. Tum Brutus, Atticum se, inquit, Calvus noster dici oratorem volebat: inde erat ista exilitas, quam ille de industria consequebatur. Dicebat, inquam, ita; sed et ipse errabat et alios etiam errare cogebat. Nam si quis eos, qui nec inepte dicunt, nec odiose, nec putide, Attice putat dicere, is recte, nisi Atticum, probat neminem. Insulsitatem enim et insolentiam, tanquam insaniam quandam orationis odit, sanitatem autem et integritatem, quasi religionem et verecundiam oratoris probat. Hæc omnium debet oratorum eadem esse sententia. 285. Sin autem jejunitatem, et siccitatem, et inopiam, dum modo sit polita, dum urbana, dum elegans, in Attico genere ponit, hoc recte duntaxat; sed quia sunt in Atticis alia meliora, videat ne ignoret et gradus, et dissimilitudines, et vim, et varietatem Atticorum. "Atticos," inquit, "volo imitari." Quos? nec enim est unum genus. Nam quid est tam dissimile, quam Demosthenes et Lysias? quam iidem et Hyperides? quam horum omnium Æschines? Quem igitur imitaris? Si aliquem, ceteri ergo Attice non dicebant; si omnes: qui potes, cum sint ipsi dissimillimi inter se? In quo illud etiam quæro, Phalereus ille Demetrius Atticene dixerit? Mihi quidem ex illius orationibus redolere ipsæ Athenæ videntur. At est floridior, ut ita dicam, quam Hyperides, quam Lysias: natura quædam aut voluntas ita dicendi fuit.

LXXXIII. 286. Et quidem duo fuerunt per idem tempus dissimiles inter se, sed Attici tamen; quorum Charisius multarum orationum, quas scribebat aliis, cum cupere videretur imitari Lysiam; Demochares autem, qui fuit Demostheni sororis filius, et orationes scripsit aliquot et earum rerum historiam, quæ erant Athenis ipsius ætate gestæ, non tam historico, quam oratorio genere perscripsit. Ac Charisii vult Hegesias esse similis, isque se ita putat Atticum, ut veros illos præ se pæne agrestes putet. 287. At quid est tam fractum, tam minutum, tam in ipsa, quam tamen consequitur, concinnitate puerile? "Atticorum similes esse volumus." Optime; suntne igitur hi Attici oratores? quis negare potest? "Hos imitamur." Quo modo, qui sunt et inter se dissimiles et

aliorum? "Thucydidem," inquit, "imitamur." Optime, si historiam scribere, non si causas dicere cogitatis. Thucydides enim rerum gestarum pronuntiator sincerus, et grandis etiam fuit; hoc forense, concertatorium, judiciale non tractavit genus. Orationes autem quas interposuit, multæ enim sunt, eas ego laudare soleo; imitari neque possim, si velim, nec velim fortasse, si possim. Ut si quis Falerno vino delectetur, sed eo nec ita novo, ut proximis consulibus natum velit, nec rursus ita vetere ut Opimium aut Anicium consulem quærat—atqui hæ notæ sunt optimæ, credo, sed nimia vetustas nec habet eam quam quærimus suavitatem, nec est jam sane tolerabilis—288. num igitur qui hoc sentiat, si is potare velit, de dolio sibi hauriendum putet? Minime; sed quandam sequatur ætatem. Sic ego istis censuerim et novam istam, quasi de musto ac lacu, fervidam orationem fugiendam, nec illam præclaram Thucydidis nimis veterem, tanquam Anicianam notam persequendam. Ipse enim Thucydides si posterius fuisset, multo maturior fuisset et mitior. "Demosthenem igitur imitemur."

LXXXIV. 289. O di boni! quid, quæso, nos aliud agimus, aut quid aliud optamus? At non assequimur. Isti enim videlicet Attici nostri, quod volunt, assequuntur. Ne illud quidem intelligunt, non modo ita memoriæ proditum esse, sed ita necesse fuisse, cum Demosthenes dicturus esset, ut concursus audiendi causa ex tota Græcia fierent; at cum isti Attici dicunt, non modo a corona, quod est ipsum miserabile, sed etiam ab advocatis relinquuntur. Quare si anguste et exiliter dicere est Atticorum, sint sane Attici; sed in comitium veniant, ad stantem judicem dicant: subsellia grandiorem et pleniorem vocem desiderant. 290. Volo hoc oratori contingat, ut, cum auditum sit eum esse dicturum, locus in subselliis occupetur, compleatur tribunal, gratiosi scribæ sint in dando et cedendo loco, corona multiplex, judex erectus; cum surgat is, qui dicturus sit, significetur a corona silentium, deinde crebræ assensiones, multæ admirationes; risus, cum velit, cum velit, fletus: ut, qui hæc procul videat, etiamsi quid agatur, nesciat, at placere tamen, et in scena esse Roscium intelligat. Hæc cui contingant, eum scito Attice dicere, ut de Pericle audimus, ut de Hyperide, de Æschine, de ipso quidem Demosthene maxime. 291. Sin autem acutum, prudens, et idem sincerum, et solidum, et exsiccatum genus orationis probant, nec illo graviore ornatu oratorio utuntur, et hoc proprium esse Atticorum volunt: recte laudant; est enim in arte tanta, tamque varia, etiam huic minutæ subtilitati locus. Ita fiet, ut non

omnes, qui Attice, iidem bene, sed ut omnes, qui bene, iidem etiam Attice dicant. Sed redeamus rursus ad Hortensium.

LXXXV. 292. Sane quidem, inquit Brutus; quanquam ista mihi tua fuit perjucunda a proposita oratione digressio. Tum Atticus, Aliquoties sum, inquit, conatus, sed interpellare nolui; nunc, quoniam jam ad perorandum spectare videtur sermo tuus, dicam, opinor, quod sentio. Tu vero, inquam, Tite. Tum ille, Ego, inquit, ironiam illam, quem in Socrate dicunt fuisse, qua ille in Platonis et Xenophontis et Æschinis libris utitur, facetam et elegantem puto. Est enim et minime inepti hominis et ejusdem etiam faceti, cum de sapientia disceptatur, hanc sibi ipsum detrahere, eis tribuere illudentem, qui eam sibi arrogant; ut apud Platonem Socrates in cœlum effert laudibus Protagoram, Hippiam, Prodicum, Gorgiam, ceteros, se autem omnium rerum inscium fingit et rudem: decet hoc nescio quo modo illum, nec Epicuro, qui id reprehendit, assentior. Sed in historia, qua tu es usus in omni sermone, cum, qualis quisque orator fuisset, exponeres, vide, quæso, inquit, ne tam reprehendenda sit ironia, quam in testimonio. Quorsus, inquam, istuc? non enim intelligo. 293. Quia primum, inquit, ita laudavisti quosdam oratores, ut imperitos posses in errorem inducere. Equidem in quibusdam risum vix tenebam; cum Attico Lysiæ Catonem nostrum comparabas, magnum me hercule hominem, vel potius summum et singularem virum—nemo dicet secus—; sed oratorem? sed etiam Lysiæ similem? quo nihil potest esse pictius. Bella ironia, si jocaremur; sin asseveramus, vide ne religio nobis tam adhibenda sit, quam si testimonium diceremus. 294. Ego enim Catonem tuum ut civem, ut senatorem, ut imperatorem, ut virum denique cum prudentia et diligentia, tum omni virtute excellentem, probo; orationes autem ejus, ut illis temporibus, valde laudo—significant enim formam quandam ingenii, sed admodum impolitam et plane rudem—, Origines vero cum omnibus oratoris laudibus refertas diceres, et Catonem cum Philisto et Thucydide comparares, Brutone te id censebas, an mihi probaturum? Quos enim ne e Græcis quidem quisquam imitari potest, his tu comparas hominem Tusculanum, nondum suspicantem, quale esset copiose et ornate dicere.

LXXXVI. 295. Galbam laudas. Si ut illius ætatis principem, assentior: sic enim accepimus; sin ut oratorem, cedo, quæso, orationes,—sunt enim,—et dic, hunc, quem tu plus quam te amas, Brutum, velle te illo modo dicere. Probas Lepidi orationes. Paulum hic tibi assentior, modo ita laudes, ut antiquas; quod item de

Africano, de Lælio, cujus tu oratione negas fieri quicquam posse dulcius, addis etiam nescio quid augustius. Nomine nos capis summi viri, vitæque elegantissimæ verissimis laudibus; remove hæc: næ ista dulcis oratio ita sit abjecta, ut eam aspicere nemo velit. 296. Carbonem in summis oratoribus habitum scio; sed cum ceteris rebus, tum in dicendo, semper, quo jam nihil est melius, id laudari, qualecumque est, solet. Dico idem de Gracchis; etsi de eis ea sunt a te dicta, quibus ego assentior. Omitto ceteros; venio ad eos in quibus jam perfectam putas esse eloquentiam, quos ego audivi, sine controversia magnos oratores, Crassum et Antonium. De horum laudibus tibi prorsus assentior; sed tamen non isto modo, ut Polycleti Doryphorum sibi Lysippus aiebat, sic suasionem legis Serviliæ tibi magistram fuisse: hæc germana ironia est. Cur ita sentiam, non dicam, ne me tibi assentari putes. 297. Omitto igitur, quæ de his ipsis, quæ de Cotta, quæ de Sulpicio, quæ modo de Cælio dixeris. Hi enim fuerunt certe oratores; quanti, autem et quales, tu videris. Nam illud minus curo, quod congessisti operarios omnes, ut mihi videantur mori voluisse nonnulli, ut a te in oratorum numerum referrentur.

LXXXVII. Hæc cum ille dixisset, Longi sermonis initium pepulisti, inquam, Attice, remque commovisti nova disputatione dignam, quam in aliud tempus differamus. 298. Volvendi enim sunt libri cum aliorum, tum in primis Catonis. Intelliges nihil illius lineamentis nisi eorum pigmentorum, quæ inventa nondum erant, florem et colorem defuisse. Nam de Crassi oratione sic existimo, ipsum fortasse melius potuisse scribere, alium, ut arbitror, neminem. Nec in hoc ironiam dixeris esse, quod eam orationem mihi magistram fuisse dixerim. Nam etsi tu melius existimare videris de ea, si quam nunc habemus, facultate, tamen adolescentes quid in Latinis potius imitaremur non habebamus. 299. Quod autem plures a nobis nominati sunt, eo pertinuit, ut paulo ante dixi, quod intelligi volui, in eo, cujus omnes cupidissimi essent, quam pauci digni nomine evaderent. Quare *εἴρωνα* me, ne si Africanus quidem fuit, ut ait in historia sua C. Fannius, existimari velim. Ut voles, inquit Atticus; ego enim non alienum a te putabam, quod et in Africano fuisset et in Socrate. 300. Tum Brutus, De isto postea; sed tu, inquit me intuens, orationes nobis veteres explicabis? Vero, inquam, Brute; sed in Cumano aut in Tusculano aliquando, si modo licebit, quoniam utroque in loco vicini sumus. Sed jam ad id, unde digressi sumus, revertamur.

LXXXVIII. 301. Hortensius igitur cum admodum adolescens orsus esset in foro dicere, celeriter ad majores causas adhiberi cœptus est ; et quanquam inciderat in Cottæ et Sulpicii ætatem, qui annis decem majores, excellente tum Crasso et Antonio, dein Philippo, post Julio, cum his ipsis dicendi gloria comparabatur. Primum memoria tanta, quantam in nullo cognovisse me arbitror, ut, quæ secum commentatus esset, ea sine scripto verbis eisdem redderet, quibus cogitavisset. Hoc adjumento ille tanto sic utebatur, ut sua, et commentata, et scripta, et, nullo referente, omnia adversariorum dicta meminisset. 302. Ardebat autem cupiditate sic, ut in nullo unquam flagrantius studium viderim. Nullum enim patiebatur esse diem, quin aut in foro diceret, aut meditaretur extra forum ; sæpissime autem eodem die utrumque faciebat. Attuleratque minime vulgare genus dicendi ; duas quidem res, quas nemo alius : partitiones, quibus de rebus dicturus esset, et collectiones eorum, quæ essent dicta contra, quæque ipse dixisset. 303. Erat in verborum splendore elegans, compositione aptus, facultate copiosus ; eaque erat cum summo ingenio, tum exercitationibus maximis consecutus. Rem complectebatur memoriter, dividebat acute, nec prætermittebat fere quicquam, quod esset in causa, aut ad confirmandum, aut ad refellendum. Vox canora et suavis ; motus et gestus etiam plus artis habebat, quam erat oratori satis. Hoc igitur florescente Crassus est mortuus, Cotta pulsus, judicia intermissa bello, nos in forum venimus.

LXXXIX. 304. Erat Hortensius in bello primo anno miles, altero tribunus militum ; Sulpicius legatus aberat, etiam M. Antonius ; exercebatur una lege judicium Varia, ceteris propter bellum intermissis, cui frequens aderam, quanquam pro se ipsi dicebant oratores, non illi quidem principes, L. Memmius et Q. Pompeius, sed oratores tamen, teste diserto utique Philippo, cujus in testimonio contentio et vim accusatoris habebat, et copiam. 305. Reliqui qui tum principes numerabantur in magistratibus erant, quotidieque fere a nobis in contionibus audiebantur. Erat enim tribunus plebis tum C. Curio ; quanquam is quidem silebat, ut erat semel a contione universa relictus ; Q. Metellus Celer non ille quidem orator, sed tamen non infans ; diserti autem Q. Varius, C. Carbo, Cn. Pomponius, et hi quidem habitabant in rostris. C. etiam Julius ædilis curulis quotidie fere accuratas contiones habebat. Sed me cupidissimum audiendi primus dolor percussit, Cotta cum est expulsus. Reliquos frequenter audiens acerrimo studio

tenebar, quotidieque et scribens, et legens, et commentans, oratoriis tantum exercitationibus contentus non eram. 306. Jam consequente anno Q. Varius sua lege damnatus excesserat; ego autem juris civilis studio multum operæ dabam Q. Scævolæ Q. F., qui quanquam nemini se ad docendum dabat, tamen consulentibus respondendo studiosos audiendi docebat. Atque huic anno proximus Sulla consule et Pompeio fuit. Tum P. Sulpicii in tribunatu quotidie contionantis totum genus dicendi penitus cognovimus; eodemque tempore, cum princeps academiæ Philo cum Atheniensium optimatibus Mithridatico bello domo profugisset Romamque venisset, totum ei me tradidi, admirabili quodam ad philosophiam studio concitatus, in quo hoc etiam commorabar attentius, quod, etsi rerum ipsarum varietas et magnitudo summa me delectatione retinebat, tamen sublata jam esse in perpetuum ratio judiciorum videbatur. 307. Occiderat Sulpicius illo anno, tresque proximo trium ætatum oratores erant crudelissime interfecti, Q. Catulus, M. Antonius, C. Julius. Eodem anno etiam Moloni Rhodio Romæ dedimus operam, et actori summo causarum et magistro.

XC. Hæc etsi videntur esse a proposita ratione diversa, tamen idcirco a me proferuntur, ut nostrum cursum perspicere, quoniam voluisti, Brute, possis (nam Attico hæc nota sunt), et videre, quem ad modum simus in spatio Q. Hortensium ipsius vestigiis persecuti. 308. Triennium fere fuit urbs sine armis; sed oratorum aut interitu aut discessu aut fuga (nam aberant etiam adolescentes M. Crassus et Lentuli duo) primas in causis agebat Hortensius, magis magisque quotidie probabatur Antistius; Piso sæpe dicebat, minus sæpe Pomponius, raro Carbo, semel aut iterum Philippus. At vero ego hoc tempore omni noctes et dies in omnium doctrinarum meditatione versabar. 309. Eram cum stoico Diodoto, qui cum habitavisset apud me, mecumque vixisset, nuper est domi meæ mortuus. A quo cum in aliis rebus, tum studiosissime in dialectica exercebar, quæ quasi contracta et adstricta eloquentia putanda est; sine qua etiam tu, Brute, judicavisti te illam justam eloquentiam, quam dialecticam dilatatam esse putant, consequi non posse. Huic ego doctori et ejus artibus variis atque multis ita eram tamen deditus, ut ab exercitationibus oratoriis nullus dies vacuus esset. 310. Commentabar declamitans (sic enim nunc loquuntur) sæpe cum M. Pisone, et cum Q. Pompeio, aut cum aliquo quotidie, idque faciebam multum etiam Latine, sed Græce sæpius; vel quod Græca oratio plura ornamenta suppeditans, consuetudinem similiter Latine dicendi afferebat, vel quod a Græcis

summis doctoribus, nisi Græce dicerem, neque corrigi possem neque doceri. 311. Tumultus interim in recuperanda re publica et crudelis interitus oratorum trium, Scævolæ, Carbonis, Antistii, reditus Cottæ, Curionis, Crassi, Lentulorum, Pompeii, leges et judicia constituta, recuperata res publica; ex numero autem oratorum Pomponius, Censorinus, Murena sublati. Tum primum nos ad causas, et privatas et publicas, adire cœpimus, non ut in foro disceremus, quod plerique fecerunt, sed ut, quantum nos efficere potuissemus, docti in forum veniremus. 312. Eodem tempore Moloni dedimus operam; dictatore enim Sulla legatus ad senatum de Rhodiorum præmiis venerat. Itaque prima causa publica pro Sex. Roscio dicta tantum commendationis habuit, ut non ulla esset, quæ non digna nostro patrocinio videretur. Deinceps inde multæ, quas non minus diligenter elaboratas et tanquam elucubratas afferebamus.

XCI. 313. Nunc quoniam totum me, non nævo aliquo aut crepundiis, sed corpore omni, videris velle cognoscere, complectar nonnulla etiam, quæ fortasse videantur minus necessaria. Erat eo tempore in nobis summa gracilitas et infirmitas corporis, procerum et tenue collum: qui habitus et quæ figura non procul abesse putatur a vitæ periculo, si accedit labor et laterum magna contentio. Eoque magis hoc eos, quibus eram carus, commovebat, quod omnia sine remissione, sine varietate, vi summa vocis, et totius corporis contentione dicebam. 314. Itaque cum me et amici et medici hortarentur, ut causas agere desisterem, quodvis potius periculum mihi adeundum, quam a sperata dicendi gloria discedendum putavi; sed cum censerem, remissione et moderatione vocis, et commutato genere dicendi, me et periculum vitare posse, et temperatius dicere, ut consuetudinem dicendi mutarem, ea causa mihi in Asiam proficiscendi fuit. Itaque cum essem biennium versatus in causis, et jam in foro celebratum meum nomen esset, Roma sum profectus. 315. Cum venissem Athenas, sex menses cum Antiocho, veteris academiæ nobilissimo et prudentissimo philosopho, fui, studiumque philosophiæ nunquam intermissum, a primaque adolescentia cultum, et semper auctum, hoc rursus summo auctore et doctore renovavi. Eodem tamen tempore Athenis apud Demetrium Syrum, veterem et non ignobilem dicendi magistrum, studiose exerceri solebam. Post a me Asia tota peragrata est cum * summis quidem oratoribus, quibuscum exercebar ipsis libentibus; quorum erat princeps Menippus Stratonicensis, meo judicio tota Asia illis temporibus disertissimus; et, si nihil habere molestiarum nec ineptiarum Atticorum est,

hic orator in illis numerari recte potest. 316. Assiduissime autem mecum fuit Dionysius Magnes; erat etiam Æschylus Cnidius, Adramyttenus Xenocles. Hi tum in Asia rhetorum principes numerabantur. Quibus non contentus Rhodum veni, meque ad eundem, quem Romæ audiveram, Molonem applicavi, cum actorem in veris causis, scriptoremque præstantem, tum in notandis animadvertendisque vitiis, et instituendo docendoque prudentissimum. Is dedit operam, si modo id consequi potuit, ut nimis redundantes nos, et superfluentes juvenili quadam dicendi impunitate et licentia, reprimeret, et quasi extra ripas diffluentes coerceret. Ita recepi me biennio post, non modo exercitatior, sed prope mutatus. Nam et contentio nimia vocis resederat, et quasi deferverat oratio, lateribusque vires, et corpori mediocris habitus accesserat.

XCII. 317. Duo tum excellebant oratores, qui me imitandi cupiditate incitarent, Cotta et Hortensius; quorum alter remissus, et lenis, et propriis verbis comprehendens solute et facile sententiam, alter ornatus, acer, et non talis, qualem tu eum, Brute, jam deflorescentem cognovisti, sed verborum et actionis genere commotior. Itaque cum Hortensio mihi magis arbitrabar rem esse, cui et dicendi ardore eram propior, et ætate conjunctior. Et enim videram in eisdem causis, ut pro M. Canuleio, pro Cn. Dolabella consulari, cum Cotta princeps adhibitus esset, priores tamen agere partes Hortensium. Acrem enim oratorem, incensum, et agentem, et canorum, concursus hominum forique strepitus desiderat. 318. Unum igitur annum, cum rediissemus ex Asia, causas nobiles egimus, cum quæsturam nos, consulatum Cotta, ædilitatem peteret Hortensius. Interim me quæstorem Siciliensis excepit annus; Cotta ex consulatu est profectus in Galliam; princeps et erat, et habebatur, Hortensius. Cum autem anno post ex Sicilia me recepissem, jam videbatur illud in me, quidquid esset, esse perfectum et habere maturitatem quandam suam. Nimis multa videor de me, ipse præsertim; sed omni huic sermoni propositum est, non ut ingenium et eloquentiam meam perspicias, unde longe absum, sed ut laborem et industriam. 319. Cum igitur essem in plurimis causis et in principibus patronis quinquennium fere versatus, tum in patrocinio Siciliensi maxime in certamen veni designatus ædilis cum designato consule Hortensio.

XCIII. Sed quoniam omnis hic sermo noster non solum enumerationem oratorum, verum etiam præcepta quædam desiderat, quid tanquam notandum et animadvertendum sit in Hortensio,

breviter licet dicere. 320. Nam is post consulatum—credo quod videret, ex consularibus neminem esse secum comparandum, negligeret autem eos qui consules non fuissent—summum illud suum studium remisit, quo a puero fuerat incensus, atque in omnium rerum abundantia voluit beatius, ut ipse putabat, remissius certe vivere. Primus, et secundus annus, et tertius tantum quasi de picturæ veteris colore detraxerat, quantum non quivis unus ex populo, sed existimator doctus et intelligens posset cognoscere; longius autem procedens, cum in ceteris eloquentiæ partibus, tum maxime in celeritate et continuatione verborum adhærescens sui dissimilior videbatur fieri quotidie. 321. Nos autem non desistebamus, cum omni genere exercitationis, tum maxime stilo, nostrum illud, quod erat, augere, quantumcumque erat. Atque, ut multa omittam, in hoc spatio, et prætor primus, et incredibili populi voluntate sum factus. Nam cum propter assiduitatem in causis et industriam, tum propter exquisitius et minime vulgare orationis genus, animos hominum ad me dicendi novitate converteram. 322. Nihil de me dicam: dicam de ceteris, quorum nemo erat, qui videretur exquisitius, quam vulgus hominum, studuisse litteris, quibus fons perfectæ eloquentiæ continetur; nemo, qui philosophiam complexus esset, matrem omnium bene factorum beneque dictorum; nemo, qui jus civile didicisset, rem ad privatas causas, et ad oratoris prudentiam, maxime necessariam; nemo, qui memoriam rerum Romanarum teneret, ex qua, si quando opus esset, ab inferis locupletissimos testes excitaret; nemo, qui breviter arguteque, incluso adversario, laxaret judicum animos, atque a severitate paulisper ad hilaritatem risumque traduceret; nemo, qui dilatare posset, atque a propria ac definita disputatione hominis ac temporis, ad communem quæstionem universi generis orationem traducere; nemo, qui delectandi gratia digredi parumper a causa; nemo, qui ad iracundiam magno opere judicem, nemo, qui ad fletum posset adducere, nemo, qui animum ejus, quod unum est oratoris maxime proprium, quocumque res postularet, impellere.

XCIV. 323. Itaque cum jam pæne evanuisset Hortensius et ego anno meo, sexto autem post illum consulem, consul factus essem, revocare se ad industriam cœpit, ne, cum pares honore essemus, aliqua re superiores videremur. Sic duodecim post meum consulatum annos in maximis causis, cum ego mihi illum, sibi me ille anteferret, conjunctissime versati sumus, consulatusque meus, qui illum primo leviter perstrinxerat,

idem nos rerum mearum gestarum, quas ille admirabatur, laude conjunxerat. 324. Maxime vero perspecta est utriusque nostrum exercitatio paulo ante, quam perterritum armis hoc studium, Brute, nostrum conticuit subito et obmutuit: cum lege Pompeia ternis horis ad dicendum datis, ad causas simillimas inter se, vel potius easdem, novi veniebamus quotidie. Quibus quidem causis tu etiam, Brute, præsto fuisti, compluresque et nobiscum, et solus egisti; ut, qui non satis diu vixerit Hortensius, tamen hunc cursum confecerit. Annis ante decem causas agere cœpit quam tu es natus; idem quarto et sexagesimo anno, perpaucis ante mortem diebus, una tecum socerum tuum defendit Appium. Dicendi autem genus quod fuerit in utroque, orationes utriusque etiam posteris nostris indicabunt.

XCV. 325 Sed si quærimus, cur adolescens magis floruerit dicendo quam senior Hortensius, causas reperiemus verissimas duas. Primum, quod genus erat orationis Asiaticum, adolescentiæ magis concessum quam senectuti. Genera autem Asiaticæ dictionis duo sunt: unum sententiosum et argutum, sententiis non tam gravibus et severis quam concinnis et venustis; qualis in historia Timæus, in dicendo autem, pueris nobis, Hierocles Alabandeus, magis etiam Menecles frater ejus fuit, quorum utriusque orationes sunt in primis, ut Asiatico in genere, laudabiles. Aliud autem genus est non tam sententiis frequentatum quam verbis volucre atque incitatum, quali est nunc Asia tota, nec flumine solum orationis, sed etiam exornato et facto genere verborum; in quo fuit Æschylus Cnidius et meus æqualis Milesius Æschines. In eis erat admirabilis orationis cursus, ornata sententiarum concinnitas non erat. 326. Hæc autem, ut dixi, genera dicendi aptiora sunt adolescentibus; in senibus gravitatem non habent. Itaque Hortensius utroque genere florens clamores faciebat adolescens. Habebat enim et Meneclium illud studium crebrarum venustarumque sententiarum, in quibus, ut in illo Græco, sic in hoc, erant quædam magis venustæ dulcesque sententiæ quam aut necessariæ aut interdum utiles; et erat oratio cum incitata et vibrans, tum etiam accurata et polita. Non probabantur hæc senibus: sæpe videbam cum irridentem, tum etiam irascentem et stomachantem Philippum; sed mirabantur adolescentes, multitudo movebatur. 327. Erat excellens judicio vulgi, et facile primas tenebat adolescens. Etsi enim genus illud dicendi auctoritatis habebat parum, tamen aptum esse ætati videbatur; et certe, quod et ingenii quædam forma lucebat, exercitatione

perfecta, eratque verborum adstricta comprehensio, summam hominum admirationem excitabat. Sed cum jam honores et illa senior auctoritas gravius quiddam requireret, remanebat idem nec decebat idem; quodque exercitationem studiumque dimiserat, quod in eo fuerat acerrimum, concinnitas illa crebritasque sententiarum pristina manebat, sed ea vestitu illo orationis, quo consueverat, ornata non erat. Hoc tibi ille, Brute, minus fortasse placuit quam placuisset, si illum flagrantem studio, et florentem facultate, audire potuisses.

XCVI. 328. Tum Brutus, Ego vero, inquit, et ista, quæ dicis, video qualia sint et Hortensium magnum oratorem semper putavi, maximeque probavi pro Messalla dicentem, cum tu abfuisti. Sic ferunt, inquam, idque declarat totidem, quot dixit, ut aiunt, scripta verbis oratio. Ergo ille a Crasso consule et Scævola usque ad Paulum et Marcellum consules floruit; nos in eodem cursu fuimus a Sulla dictatore ad eosdem fere consules: sic Q. Hortensii vox exstincta fato suo est, nostra publico.

329. Melius, quæso, ominare, inquit Brutus. Sit sane ut vis, inquam, et id non tam mea causa quam tua; sed fortunatus illius exitus, qui ea non vidit cum fierent, quæ providit futura. Sæpe enim inter nos impendentes casus deflevimus, cum belli civilis causas in privatorum cupiditatibus inclusas, pacis spem a publico consilio esse exclusam videremus. Sed illum videtur felicitas ipsius, qua semper est usus, ab eis miseriis quæ consecutæ sunt, morte vindicasse. 330. Nos autem, Brute, quoniam post Hortensii, clarissimi oratoris, mortem orbæ eloquentiæ quasi tutores relicti sumus, domi teneamus eam, septam liberali custodia, et hos ignotos atque impudentes procos repudiemus, tueamurque, ut adultam virginem, caste, et ab amatorum impetu, quantum possumus, prohibeamus. Equidem, etsi doleo, me in vitam paulo serius, tanquam in viam, ingressum, prius quam confectum iter sit, in hanc rei publicæ noctem incidisse, tamen ea consolatione sustentor, quam tu mihi, Brute, adhibuisti tuis suavissimis litteris; quibus me forti animo esse oportere censebas, quod ea gessissem, quæ de me, etiam me tacente, ipsa loquerentur, mortuoque, viverent; quæ, si recte esset, salute rei publicæ, sin secus, interitu ipso testimonium meorum de re publica consiliorum darent.

XCVII. 331. Sed in te intuens, Brute, doleo, cujus in adolescentiam per medias laudes quasi quadrigis vehentem, transversa incurrit misera fortuna rei publicæ. Hic me dolor tangit, hæc me cura sollicitat, et hunc mecum, socium ejusdem et amoris et judicii. Tibi favemus, te tua frui virtute

cupimus, tibi optamus eam rem publicam, in qua duorum generum amplissimorum renovare memoriam atque augere possis. Tuum enim forum, tuum erat illud curriculum; tu illuc veneras unus, qui non linguam modo acuisses exercitatione dicendi, sed et ipsam eloquentiam locupletavisses graviorum artium instrumento, et eisdem artibus decus omne virtutis cum summa eloquentiæ laude junxisses. 332. Ex te duplex nos afficit sollicitudo, quod et ipse re publica careas et illa te. Tu tamen, etsi cursum ingenii tui, Brute, premit hæc importuna clades civitatis, contine te in tuis perennibus studiis, et effice id, quod jam propemodum, vel plane potius effeceras, ut te eripias ex ea, quam ego congessi in hunc sermonem, turba patronorum. Nec enim decet te, ornatum uberrimis artibus, quas cum domo haurire non posses, arcessivisti ex urbe ea, quæ domus est semper habita doctrinæ, numerari in vulgo patronorum. Nam quid te exercuit Pammenes, vir longe eloquentissimus Græciæ? quid illa vetus academia atque ejus heres Aristus, hospes et familiaris meus, si quidem similes majoris partis oratorum futuri sumus? 333. Nonne cernimus, vix singulis ætatibus binos oratores laudabiles constitisse? Galba fuit inter tot æquales unus excellens, cui, quem ad modum accepimus, et Cato cedebat senior, et qui temporibus illis ætate inferiores fuerunt, Lepidus postea, deinde Carbo—nam Gracchi in contionibus multo faciliore et liberiore genere dicendi, quorum tamen ipsorum ad ætatem laus eloquentiæ perfecta nondum fuit—Antonius, Crassus, post Cotta, Sulpicius, Hortensius—. Nihil dico amplius: tantum dico, si mihi accidisset, ut numerarer in multis, si operosa est concursatio magis opportunorum, * * *

NOTES ON THE CATO MAJOR.

THE Cato Major was written in the year B.C. 44, a time when Cicero, in order to abstract his attention from public affairs, and from his grief at the loss of his dearly loved daughter, Tullia, was devoting himself almost incessantly to study, and was pouring forth from his well-stored mind treatise after treatise with amazing rapidity. If, however, we compare the Cato Major with the works which we know to have been written immediately before it, we shall find it marked by an accession of cheerfulness, and a renewed desire for political action, which can best be accounted for by the supposition that it was written soon after the death of Julius Cæsar, when a man of Cicero's sanguine temperament might hope for the regeneration of his country, and a chance of being able to devote himself to its service. Hence probably it was that he conceived the plan of holding up to his countrymen as worthy of all imitation the picture of a good and wise and practical man devoting himself energetically and joyfully to the republic from his earliest days to the extreme verge of old age. The person whom he thus depicts as his model Roman was Cato the Censor, a man of great powers, both of body and mind, and of undoubted zeal for the common good, but at the same time rude, harsh, bitter, and revengeful. Cicero, however, in pursuance of his design, tones down or omits these disagreeable qualities, clothes him with his own learning and liberal spirit; and so represents a man whom it would be an honour indeed to be like in almost all respects.

The treatise is thrown into the form of a dialogue, held in the year B.C. 150, between Cato, then in his eighty-fourth year, and his two sons-in-law, Scipio and Lælius. They are supposed to find him, in spite of his age, so vigorous in mind and body, that they are induced to ask him how it is that he bears the burden of years so lightly. Cato at once denies that old age is necessarily a burden. He then states that the arguments generally brought forward to prove that it is so are, (1) that it shuts men out from public life; (2) that it weakens the bodily strength; (3) that it cuts off almost every source of pleasure; and, (4) that it leads on to death.

The first objection is met by particular instances of eminent men who retained their vigour to the last. It is evident, however, that a few particular instances cannot invalidate a general rule resting on a far more copious induction.

The second objection is more fairly traversed by the statement that youthful vigour may be more than compensated by the experience of riper years, and that a temperate youth will produce a hale and green old age. There is a time, however, when the bodily organisation will

go to ruin, and when that process has commenced, there is no compensation on this side of death.

The third objection Cato declares to be an advantage. If old age, he says, mitigates the fever of the blood, it enables the mind to see that the attractions of virtue are superior to those of sense. At the same time, so far from cutting off all kinds of pleasure, it selects those that are not harmful—such as those connected with social intercourse and rural scenes—and conjoins them with that love of learning and wisdom which is too often the exclusive possession of old age. On the whole, perhaps, it may be said that the young have more impulses to good, more temptations to evil, than the old. It depends on the habits of the old whether they are better or worse than they were in early life.

To the fourth objection it is replied, (1) that death is harmless if it lead to annihilation, and desirable if it lead to a higher life; (2) that death is the natural goal of old age, and therefore not to be dreaded; (3) that the old man is better off than the young man, because he has gained what the other can only hope to gain; (4) that that which is so highly endowed as the human mind is probably immortal; (5) that the mind, being in a state of perpetual movement in consequence of its own spontaneous activity, must, as it cannot desert itself, go on communicating motion to itself for ever; (6) that since death is discerption, the mind, which is one and simple, and therefore indiscerptible, is not subject to death; (7) that the rapidity with which children acquire knowledge, is a proof that they are but remembering what was first communicated to them in a previous state of existence, and that therefore what we call death may well be nothing more than a change into another life; (8) that as the soul is not an attribute of the body, but uses it as its instrument, the destruction of the body is no proof of the destruction of the soul; (9) that the honour and respect paid to the dead prove that they are still exercising an influence on the living; (10) that the mind is likely to be more, not less, full of life, when freed from the impure companionship of the body; (11) that the powers of the mind are sometimes strengthened and exalted in sleep, and will therefore be still greater when death has snapped altogether the chains that tie it down to the body; (12) that the desire of fame, and the willingness to work for the benefit of posterity, prove an innate consciousness of immortality; (13) that as the good man, who must necessarily see further into the constitution of things than the bad man, is always more willing to die than the bad man, he must necessarily see immortality before him, and rejoice in the prospect of mingling and claiming kindred with the spirits of his own departed friends, and of the good and great of whom he has so often heard and read with admiration and love.

These arguments may be taken in their order:—

(1.) The first argument is a dilemma, the conclusiveness of which is vitiated by asking the question, What if death lead to a lower instead of to a higher life? The fear of future punishment held so strongly, but under such grotesque forms by the vulgar, and laughed at by philosophers (see Cicero's Tusc. Disp. i. 5, 6), has been revived and confirmed by the greater consciousness of sin introduced by Christianity.

(2.) This would convince no one; for the position that whatever is natural is not to be dreaded, would be small comfort to any one suffering from physical pain or sorrow for the dead.

(3). This is also a poor argument. He who has already enjoyed what another hopes to enjoy, is by no means sure to think himself better off (he may think himself worse off) for what he has had, but can have no longer. Past enjoyment is a poor compensation for present trouble.

(4). This has always been felt to be a strong argument, especially if it be connected (as, however, it is not here) with the nature of God, and the improbability that a Being of infinite benevolence should destroy that which he has created "so noble in reason, so infinite in faculties."

(5). This proves nothing. It might be similarly argued that the heart, because it expands and contracts spontaneously, can never stop beating.

(6.) This is an excellent argument. It may be seen expanded and made the most of in Butler's Analogy, Part I., Chapter I.

(7.) This argument is borrowed from Plato (see the Phædo., Ch. xlviii.); but as it rests on an assumption far more doubtful than that which it is intended to support, it proves nothing. The notions that the mind of a child forms with such marvellous rapidity are just those which are necessarily evolved from the intellectual constitution that God has given him, when once it is brought into contact with the motive power of experience.

(8.) This also is an argument powerfully insisted on by Butler in the first chapter of his Analogy. Add to this, however, the fact of which chemistry informs us, that no particle of any one body, no single atom of the material universe, of any kind whatever, has yet perished; and all analogy is shown to be still more plainly in favour of the continuance, not of the dissolution, of the immaterial part of man.

(9.) It is very natural to suppose that what still affects us exists, and that, if we can by our words and deeds affect posterity, we must stand in a living relation to it. But logically the argument is weak. What is natural cannot be proved to be therefore true.

(10.) This is an untenable argument. Matter is not in itself either good or evil, and therefore connection with it does not involve a lower form of life than freedom from it. The seat of good and evil is in the will, which puts the matter connected with it to good or evil uses, according to the nature of its self-determination.

(11.) This argument contradicts plain facts. The mind is not strengthened and exalted in sleep, because the will is then weakened.

(12.) See the remarks on (9).

(13.) The good are readier to die than the bad, not because they see that there is a future more clearly, but because their consciences tell them that it is not terrible for them to die. Both the good and the bad have the instinct of immortality within them, though to one class it is an object of hope, to the other of fear. But perhaps Dr. Brown is right in saying that the general belief in the immortality of the soul is no necessary proof of its reality. It is at least conceivable that God may have merely given the good the hope of a future life to cheer and comfort them, and to the bad the fear of a future life to terrify and restrain them. Men would gain by such a belief, even if it were unfounded.

On the whole, it may be said that the reasons given by Cicero here and elsewhere (see the Somnium Scipionis and the Tusculan Disputa-

tions), and by the other writers of antiquity on the same subject, rather go to prove that the soul may be immortal, than that it must. Hence the conviction, and the hopes springing from it, were strong enough for the fair weather of life, not for its storms.

But here the facts of the New Testament History come in, and by explaining the character and purposes of God, by exhibiting the life of God in the life of a man, "have abolished death and brought life and immortality to light." The death and resurrection of Christ have vindicated death against our horror of it by distinctly showing that it leads not to annihilation, but to another life, which does not fear another death. "I am the resurrection, and the life: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die:"—that is the charter of our immortality, the pledge (far surer than any unproveable assertion of the soul's natural and indefectible immortality) that that which has begun shall never end, that that which has once been given shall never be resumed, but be aided ever to press forward to a fuller share of that Divine life which the revelation of the Son has shown to be in the Father.

I. Dedication of the work to Atticus, and a statement of its purport and structure.

O Tite, &c., is a quotation from the Annals of Ennius, who was born at Rudiæ, in Calabria, B.C. 239. The lines were originally addressed to Titus Quinctius Flamininus, who conquered Philip of Macedon at Cynoscephalæ, B.C. 197, and Nabis the tyrant two years after; but they are here meant for Cicero's intimate friend Titus Pomponius Atticus, to whom Cicero dedicates the treatise. Flamininus was in distress of mind in consequence probably either of the omens referred to in Livy xxxii. 9; or the difficulty he experienced in bringing Philip to a battle. See Livy, xxxii. 9—11. Atticus was in distress in consequence of the disordered state of the republic. See Introduction.—*adjūro* is put for *adjuvero*, as *noram* for *noveram*.—*levasso* is an archaic form for the future, and is formed like the Greek future by adding *so* (in the first and second conjugations *sso*), to the crude form of the verb; as *leva-sso; fac-so, faxo*.—*versat* has its last syllable lengthened by the *ictus* of the verse. —*præmi* for *præmii*. This form in *i*, though against analogy, was always used in the older language in the case of substantives ending in *ius* and *ium*, though not in the case of adjectives. *Ille vir*, &c. This, also, is a line from Ennius, and is probably here referred by Cicero to Ennius himself. Ennius's poverty is spoken of below, c. v.—*plenu'* for *plenus*. The final *s* was originally pronounced but weakly in Latin, and hence in the earlier Latin poetry did not combine with the first consonant of the next word to make the preceding vowel long.—*fidei*. In the older language the penultimate *e* was long after consonants as well as vowels.—*cognomen*, i. e., of Atticus, which he had acquired from his long-continued residence at Athens.—*major*, *greater*, that is, than can be attempted in a little treatise like the present.—*onere . . . senectutis*. Cicero was now about sixty-two, and Atticus sixty-five years of age.—*Tithonus*, the mythical husband of Aurora, had conferred on him the gift of immortality without that of youth.—*Aristo* of Chios, who flourished about B.C 260, was a Stoic philosopher. By some, however, Aristo of Ceos (*Cius*), a peripatetic philosopher, who flourished some-

what later, is the one supposed to be referred to here.—*fabula*, "the myth."—*M. Catoni seni.* This was the well-known Marcus Porcius Cato, the censor. He was born at Tusculum, B.C. 234, was consul, B.C., 195, and censor, B.C. 184; and is supposed to be in his eighty-fourth year when he is introduced thus speaking of old age. See c. x.—*apud quem, at whose house.*—*Lælium.* C. Lælius Sapiéns, the son of the C. Lælius who was the friend of P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Major, was born about, B.C. 186. Unlike his father, who was a rough Roman soldier, he was devoted to literature and philosophy, and was more celebrated for his cultivated mind than for his military exploits.—*Scipionem.* This was P. Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus Africanus Minor, the son of L. Æmilius Paulus Macedonicus, who was adopted by the son of Scipio Africanus Major, and took and destroyed Carthage about four years after the time he is supposed to have joined in this dialogue.—*litteris Græcis.* Cato was too prejudiced in the earlier part of his career to study any foreign literature; but in his old age, he grew mellower, and devoted himself with great diligence to the Greek authors.

II. Lælius and Scipio ask Cato to explain how it is he bears the burden of age so cheerfully.

Adeptam is used passively, as is not unfrequently the case with the perfect participles of deponent verbs.—*utinam . . . esset.* The verb is here put in the past tense by Cato, to show that he modestly declines the compliment that has been paid him.—*nostroque cognomine.* Cato was called *Sapiens* in consequence of the extent of his practical knowledge. See Cic. Læl., II.—*naturam . . . ducem.* The Stoical precept was *secundum naturam vivere.* See Cic. Fin. II. ii. 34.—*partes, acts.* So Shakespeare, "As You Like It, Act ii. Sc. 7.

"All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players;
They have their exits, and their entrances;
And one man in his time plays many parts,
His acts being seven ages."

molliter, "resignedly;" an unusual meaning.—*quam . . . ingrediendum.* This construction is less common in Latin than in Greek.—*istuc* is the adverb of the second person, "thither, where *you* are."

III. Those who complain of the evils of old age should seek for the fault, not in old age, but in themselves.

Quæ . . . deplorare solebant is equivalent to *sæpe . . . querelis*, and is inserted after the parenthesis by way of resuming what was said before. —*quæ* has for antecedent the general sense of *querelis.*—*C. Livius Salinator*, as prætor, B.C. 191, commanded the fleet that acted against Antiochus. He was consul, B.C. 188.—*Sp. Postumius Albinus* was consul, B.C. 186, and died an old man, B.C. 179.—*carerent* and *sperne-rentur* are in the subjunctive, as stating the subjective views of Salinator and Albinus.—*nullam*, "worth nothing."—*difficiles* are stiff and unyielding from temperament; *inhumani* are those who pay no respect to the dignity of humanity in others; *importuni* are those who do not study the convenience of others.—*Seriphio.* Seriphus was one of the Cyclades. This story about Themistocles and the application of it to old age, are both taken from Plato de Republica, i. 4.—*multum vixeris*, "lived a full vigorous life, not stagnated life away."

IV. Fabius Maximus is quoted as an instance of a man, whom old age

did not prevent from fulfilling the whole round of public and private duties.

Quintus Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, called also *Cunctator*, for his wariness in his campaigns against Hannibal, was consul for the first time, B.C. 233, and died B.C. 203 — *Tarentum*, now Taranto, on the gulf of the same name.—*Quartum Consule*. This was in the year B.C. 214.—*Capua* is about three miles east from the modern Capoua. —*Cinciæ*. M. Cincius Alimentus, when tribune of the people B.C. 204 (*Consulibus Tuditano et Cethego*), proposed and carried a law forbidding any advocate's receiving money for pleading a cause.—*ut adolescens*. His personal prowess, even in old age, was remarkable. He is compared (Smith's Dict. of Biog.) to Earl Talbot.—*rem*, i.e., *rem publicam*. —*Non enim* is a dactyl, *m* being much slurred over by the Romans in pronunciation. Hence the final *m* was always elided before a vowel in later times.—*ponebat* lengthens its last syllable before a vowel, contrary to the ordinary rules of prosody. In the older poetry, however, a final *t* not unfrequently lengthens the preceding vowel.—*rumores*, the murmurs and tales of those who were indignant at him for not fighting a pitched battle.—*Salinatori*. This is a slip of memory on the part of Cicero. It was M. Livius Macatus, the governor of Tarentum, not M. Livius Salinator, the conqueror of Hasdrubal at the Metaurus, of whom the story should have been told.—*in toga*, i.e., "in peace."—*Consul iterum*. This was in B.C. 228.—*C. Flaminius*, who afterwards as consul was defeated and slain by Hannibal at Lake Trasumennus, when tribune of the people B. C. 232, offended the patricians by carrying a law for the division of the *Ager Gallicus et Picenus* among the plebeians.—*optimis auspiciis*, &c. So Homer, Il. xii. 243.

εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος, ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.

—*in manibus*, "in *our* hands."—*laudatio*, "the funeral oration he pronounced over his son." — *ut in homine Romano*, "considering he was a Roman."

V. Plato, Socrates, and others, are quoted as instances of men who, in a more private station, were not prevented by old age from doing everything they could have wished to do. The four arguments usually urged to prove old age to be an unmitigated evil are stated with a view to their refutation in the succeeding chapters. These are: (1) that old age shuts men out from public life; (2) that it weakens the body; (3) that it cuts it off from all sources of pleasure; (4) that it is within sight of death.—*quiete* refers to the privacy of domestic life; *pure*, to the sanctity of morals; *eleganter*, to manners.—*qualem accepimus Platonis*, "as we have heard Plato's was." Plato was born B.C. 430, and died, according to Cicero, in his 81st, according to others in his 84th year.—*Isocrates* was born at Athens, B.C. 436, and died by his own hand B.C. 338, on the news of the battle of Chæroneia.—*Panathenaicus*. This work which was under its master's hand for fifteen years, is a panegyric on his native country.—*Gorgias* the sophist, was born at Leontini, in Sicily, a few years before B.C. 480.—*Sicut fortis*. These two lines come from the Annals of Ennius.—*spatio supremo*, "the last or seventh course." The extent of each race was seven times round the *spina*.—*Vicit Olympia* is an imitation of the Greek construction Ὀλύμπια νενίκηκεν.—*confectu'*. See note on *plenu'* in ch. i—*hi Consules*, "the *present* consuls." Hence Cicero supposes this conversa-

tion on old age to have taken place in the year B.C. 150.—*Cæpione et Philippo consulibus*, i.e. B.C. 169. — *legem Voconiam*. This law, proposed by the tribune, Q. Voconius Saxa, provided that no woman could be pronounced by will heiress, to any one who was rated at as much as 100,000 sesterces.—*bonis lateribus*, "with good lungs." Cato's voice was remarkably loud.

VI. Whether old age incapacitates for public life.

L. Æmilius Paullus Macedonicus defeated Perseus at Pydna, and made Macedonia a Roman province. Scipio, as has already been said (see notes on ch. i.), was his son, though adopted by the son of the conqueror of Hannibal.— *optimi viri, filii mei*. See notes in ch. xix. *Fabricii, Curii, Coruncanii*. C. Fabricus Luscinus, consul for the first time B.C. 282 is well known for the valour and honesty he displayed in the war with Pyrrhus. M'. Curius Dentatus, consul for the first time B.C. 290, is celebrated for his victories over the Samnites, the Sabines, and Pyrrhus.—*Tiberius Coruncanius*, as consul B.C. 280, conquered the Etruscans; but he is more celebrated as a jurist, pontiff, and sage. As to the last character, see his remark (ch. iii.) on the doctrine that pleasure is the end of life.—*Appii Claudii*. Appius Claudius Cœcus was censor B.C. 312, and consul B.C. 307 and 296.—He is also known as the author of the publication of the Calendar, and the maker of the *via Appia*. In his old age, as Cicero here says, though quite blind, he prevailed on the senate to reject the overtures of Pyrrhus for peace.—*Antehac* must be scanned as a dissyllable. So Hor. Ep. II. ii. 120. "Vehĕmens et liquidus, puroque simillimus amni." —*versibus persecutus est*, "turned into verse."—*viai*, archaic for *viæ* depends on *quo*.—*et tamen*, &c., "and yet you need not turn to Ennius for what he said, for Appius's own speech is still extant."—*Pyrrhi bello*. The war with Pyrrhus lasted from B.C. 280 to B.C. 274.—*velocitatibus* refers to speed in running; *celeritate* to general dexterity of movement.—*sententia*, "expression of opinion."—*multo ante*, i. e., "long before I can hope it will be declared." The ending of all Cato's speeches, on whatever subject, at this period of his life, it is said, was, "Ego vero censeo Carthaginem esse delendam."—*ut avi reliquias persequare*, "that you may finish up what your grandfather left undone." This supposed wish of Cato's was accomplished B.C. 146, four years after the year to which this dialogue is attributed.—*senatum* from the root sen–, as γερουσία, the name of the Spartan senate, was derived from the root γεροντ–.—*externa*, "the histories of foreign countries."—*Cedo* = *dicite* here, the singular being put for the plural *cette*.—*Cn. Nævius*, born probably in Campania between the years B.C. 274 and B.C. 264, wrote an epic poem in Saturnian verse on the First Punic War (see ch. xiv.), and numerous tragedies and comedies. See also Horace Epp. II. i. 53.—*Ludo*. This is probably the name of the play in which the lines quoted occur, not the generic name for a play.

VII. The same subject is discussed, especially with respect to the memory.

Lysimachum salutare, "to greet *as* Lysimachus." Lysimachus was the father of Aristides.—*sepulcra legens*. He found this necessary for his *Origines*.—*ne memoriam perdam*. "Vulgo putabatur officere memoriæ, si quis legeret inscriptiones sepulcrorum."—*vadimonia constituta*, "the securities given for putting in a personal appearance on a certain day." He who did not appear on the day appointed was said

vadimonium deseruisse, and lost his cause. See Hor. Sat. i. 9, 36—78.—*modo*=*si modo*.—*Sophocles* was born at Colonus, B.C. 495, and died probably B.C. 406.—*bonis* is in the ablative case, "from the management of his own property." So *aliquem aqua et igni interdicere* is used.—*Hesiod* was born at Ascra in Bœotia, about B.C. 850. His chief works are the Theogonia, giving the genealogies of the gods and heroes, and the Works and Days, containing precepts on husbandry, politics, and morals.—*Simonides*, one of the greatest of the Greek lyric poets, was born in the island of Ceos, and lived about B.C. 556—467.—*Stesichorus* is said to have been born at Himera, B.C. 632, and died B.C. 560. He also was a lyric poet.—*Pythagoras* was born in Samos, about B.C. 570, and founded a philosophical and political school in Crotona.—*Democritus*, the upholder of the atomic theory, was born at Abdera in Thrace, about B.C. 460, and died B.C. 357.—*Xenocrates*, the pupil of Plato, was born at Chalcedon, B.C. 396, and died B.C. 314.—*Zeno*, of Citium in Cyprus, was the founder of the school of the Stoics. The dates of his birth and death are not accurately known, but he is said to have been alive in extreme old age B.C. 260.—*Cleanthes*, born at Assos in Troas about B.C. 300, was a pupil of Zeno's, and succeeded him in his school at his death.—*Diogenes*, the stoic, a native of Seleuceia, was a pupil of Chrysippus. He went to Rome with his fellow-philosophers Carneades and Critolaus, on an embassy from the Athenians, B.C. 155, i.e., five years before the supposed date of this dialogue. Hence Cato supposes Lælius and Scipio to have themselves seen him.—*aliis* is here neuter.—*Statius* is not the epic poet of that name who lived much later, but Cæcilius Statius, an Insubrian Gaul, born at Milan. He was contemporary with Ennius, and died the year after him, B.C. 168. He was ranked as a dramatic poet on a level with Plautus and Terence. So Hor. Ep. II. i. 59, "Vincere Cæcilius gravitate, Terentius arte."

VIII. The same subject.

Cæcilius is of course the same Cæcilius Statius mentioned in the last chapter.—*quam illud idem*. *Idem* is masculine.—*viti*=*vitii*.—*videt*, i.e., *quis*, "one sees." So lower down *Sentire*, "that one should feel."—*Solon*, the lawgiver of Athens, was born about B.C. 638.—*versibus glorian'em*, The verse in question is—

γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος.

Græcas litteras senex didici. See the last note on ch. i.—*quibus me nunc*, &c., "which you now see me use as instances." Cicero inserts this remark to account for Cato's speaking more learnedly in this dialogue than in the works really composed by him. See the latter part of ch. i. "*Qui si eruditius*," &c.—*Socrates*, the Athenian philosopher, was born B.C. 468, and was put to death by his countrymen B.C. 398.—*vellem*. The past imperfect subjunctive is used to show that the wish is one that there is no hope of realising.—*discebant fidibus*, i.e., *canere*.

IX. The second objection laid to the charge of old age is discussed; whether, namely, it weakens the body.

Locus, "topic."—*Quod est*, i. e., *tibi*, "what you have."—*Milonis*, Milo of Crotona was an athlete, who six times won the wrestling prize at the Olympic games, and was said to be the chief cause of the victory gained by his countrymen over the Sybarites at the Crathis, B.C. 511.—*Sextus Ælius Paetus* was consul B.C. 198, and was a celebrated jurist and orator. For *Ti. Coruncanius*, see ch. vi.—*modo*, "lately," in comparison,

that is, with Ti. Coruncanius.—*Publius Licinius Crassus Dives* was consul B.C. 205 with Scipio Africanus, and had to oppose Hannibal in Bruttium. He was also very eloquent and learned in pontifical and civil law.—*et videtis annos,* "and you see how old I am."—*decorus* must be taken after *est* to complete the predication.—*possis tamen,* &c. "You can still teach a Scipio or a Lælius." The Roman custom, in this respect, was very different to anything with which we are familiar. Those who were skilled in law or politics, from a desire to gain influence and benefit their country and their friends, used to give advice and instruction gratuitously to those who attended their levees. So we have seen (ch. iv) that the lex Cincia prohibited even advocates from taking anything for pleading a cause. So a general going to the seat of war was often accompanied by young men who hoped to gain experience under him as his staff (*cohors*).—*Cn. et P. Scipiones.* These were Cnæus Cornelius Scipio Calvus, who was consul B.C. 222, and P. Cornelius Scipio, his brother, who was consul B.C. 218, the first year of the second Punic war. They both afterwards went to Spain, and in the year B.C. 211 were defeated and slain by Mago and the Hasdrubals within a few days of each other.—*L. Æmilius Paulus,* the father of Macedonicus, was consul for the first time B.C. 219, and for the second time B.C. 216, the year of the fatal battle of Cannæ.—*P. Africanus,* i. e., P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Major, the conqueror of Zama. For the sense in which they were both grandfathers of the Scipio of this dialogue see the notes on ch. vi.—*apud Xenophontem.* See, his Cyropædia viii. 7.—*Cyrus,* i.e., Cyrus the Elder, the conqueror of Babylon, and founder of the Persian empire.—*L. Cæcilius Metellus,* when consul for the first time, B.C. 251, in the first Punic war, signally defeated Hasdrubal at Panormus. He was consul for the second time B.C. 247, was appointed pontifex maximus B.C. 243, and remained so till his death twenty-two years after. He lost his sight in saving the Palladium from destruction by fire, and was rewarded by a statue in the Capitol in consequence.—*id quidem,* i. e., *de se ipso dicere.*

X. Strength can be preserved to a great degree in old age through exercise and temperance.

Tertiam enim jam ætatem, &c. See Homer Il. i. 250.

> τῷ δ' ἤδη δύο μὲν γενεαὶ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
> ἐφθίαθ', οἵ οἱ πρόσθεν ἅμα τράφεν ἠδ' ἐγένοντο
> ἐν Πύλῳ ἠγαθέῃ, μετὰ δὲ τριτάτοισιν ἄνασσεν.

—*ex ejus lingua,* &c. See Homer Il. i. 249:—

> τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή.

—*sed ut Nestoris,* i.e., *habeat similes.* See Homer Il. ii. 371:—

> αἲ γάρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἄπολλον,
> τοιοῦτοι δέκα μοι συμφράδμονες εἶεν Ἀχαιῶν·
> τῷ κε τάχ' ἠμύσειε πόλις Πριάμοιο ἄνακτος,
> χερσὶν ὑφ' ἡμετέρῃσιν ἁλοῦσά τε περθομένη τε.

—*miles bello Punico.* Cato's first campaign was B.C. 217, when he was seventeen years of age.—*quæstor.* This was B.C. 205.—*consul.* B.C. 195. —*tribunus militaris apud Thermopylas.* This was in the year B.C. 191, when he served under the consul M'. Acilius Glabrio against Antiochus, and contributed not a little by his decision and skill to the favourable

result of the battle.—*laudato*, "often quoted."—*mature fieri senem*, &c. The reverse of this proverb is the common English one, "It is better to wear out than to rust out."—*cui fuerim occupatus*, "to whom I have sent word that I was engaged."—*T. Pontii*, some strong centurion of whom nothing more is certainly known.—*ferocitas*, "spirit."—*avitus*, i. e., "of Scipio Africanus Major."—*Masinissa* defeated Syphax, B.C. 213, and helped the Carthaginians in Spain for some years, till Scipio, by his victory over Hasdrubal, Gisco, and Mago, and by his wonderful personal influence drew him over to the Roman side, to which he remained faithful because his fears and his interests made him so. He retained his extraordinary vigour of mind and body almost to the last year of his long life.—*siccitatem*, "absence of evil humours; tone." Gernhard quotes Varro apud Non. "Persæ propter exercitationes pueriles modicas eam sunt consecuti corporis siccitatem, ut neque spuerent, neque emungerentur, sufflatove corpore essent."—*officia et munera*, "duties and offices;" the former appealing to the conscience, the latter attaching to the position.

XI. Even though it be granted that there is a decline of bodily strength in old age, it must be remembered that old age does not require bodily strength.

Legibus and *institutis* are the abl. of the instr.—*cogimur*, i. e., *facere*.—*P. Scipionis filius*, i. e., the son of the conqueror of Hannibal. His health was too weak to allow him to enter on a political career at all.—*comicos stultos senes*. "Foolish old men that are brought in in comedy." See Cic. De Amicitiâ, ch. xxvii., where the passage from Cæcilius's Epiclerus, in which these words occur, is quoted.—*robustos*, "grown up."—*Appius*. See notes on ch. vi.—*nemini mancipata est*, i. e., *sui juris et mancipii est*. For the regular form of purchase (mancipatio) per æs et libram, see the note on Hor. ii. Ep. ii. 158.—*Septimus Originum liber*. This work comprised the history of Rome and the other Italian towns from their *origin*, with some interruption, to the year of Cato's death. The sixth and seventh (which were the two last) books treated of the events posterior to the second Punic war.—*orationes*. Of these orations some fragments still remain. That he did something towards the development of the resources of the Latin language is shown by his work *De Re Rustica* and the express testimony of Horace ii., Ep. ii. 117, and A. P. 56.—*Pythagoreorum more*, &c. This is an allusion to the precept in the golden verses of Pythagoras:—

> μηδ' ὕπνον μαλακοῖσιν ἐπ' ὄμμασι προσδέξασθαι
> πρὶν τῶν ἡμερινῶν ἔργων τρὶς ἕκαστον ἐπελθεῖν.
> πῇ παρέβην; τί δ' ἔρεξα, τί μοι δέον οὐκ ἐτελέσθη;

It must be borne in mind, however, that Pythagoras enjoined this practice on his disciples for a moral object, not, as Cicero says here, "exercendæ memoriæ gratia.—*ut possim facit*, "makes me able."—*sensim sine sensu senescit*. Gernhard draws attention to the sigmatism of these words, as imitative of the sense, and quotes the alliterative line of Ennius:—

> O Tite, tute Tati, tibi tanta tyranne tulisti.

XII. The third objection to old age, that it does not care much for pleasure, is treated of and proved to be an advantage.

Munus, "privilege."—*accipite*, "listen to."—Archytas of Tarentum flourished about B.C. 400. He was a successful general, and was distinguished

as a philosopher and mathematician. His death by shipwreck in the Adriatic is commemorated by Horace, Od. i. 28.—*cujus voluptatis* depends on *avidæ*, not on *potiundum*.—*fingere jubebat*, "he bade his disciples imagine."—*dum* = *quamdiu*.—*C. Pontius* defeated T. Veturius Calvinus and Sp. Postumius Albinus, the consuls for the year B.C. 321 at the Caudine Forks, a mountain-pass near Caudium, which lay 21 Roman miles from Capua, and 11 from Beneventum. *Nearchus*, of Tarentum, was a Pythagorean philosopher, who had remained faithful to the Romans during the revolt of his countrymen, and was Cato's host after Fabius had retaken the city, and taught Cato some of the doctrines which he enunciates in the succeeding chapter. See Plutarch Cato Maj. ch. ii.—*quum...interfuisset Plato* must be joined closely with *locutum Archytam*, as Plato was contemporary, not with Nearchus, but with Archytas, who is said indeed to have saved his life by his intercession with Dionysius the tyrant. Plato's three journeys to Sicily are well known, but nothing is known of a later journey to Tarentum in the consulship of L. Furius Camillus and Appius Claudius Crassinus Regillensis, B.C. 349, and it is in itself very improbable, as he died B.C. 347, in his 81st or 84th year. See Smith's Biog. Dict.—*Quorsus hæc*, i. e., *tendunt*.—*T. Flaminini*. See ch. i.—*L. Flamininus*, the brother of the better known Titus, assisted his brother in the conquest of Greece, and was elected consul for the year B.C. 192, receiving Gaul for his province. While there, he committed the horrible crime which Livy (xxxix. 43) relates fully with all its revolting details; while Cicero, probably from lack of memory, softens the features of the deed down considerably. Lucius's brother Titus, being appointed censor, B.C. 189, left his name uncensured during his continuance in office; but Cato, who succeeded him as censor, together with L. Valerius Flaccus, B.C. 184, turned him out of the senate, and attacked him in an indignant speech.

XIII. The same subject.

Porro, "in turn."—*Cineas*, the confidant of Pyrrhus, was so highly valued by his master for the power of his eloquence and his political tact, that he used to say that the words of Cineas had gained him more cities than his own arms. His embassy to Rome, B.C. 280, and his declaration that Rome was a temple and all its senators kings is well known.—*quendam Athenis*, i. e., Epicurus, who was born B.C. 342, and died B.C. 270. Though he erroneously held that pleasure was the end of life, it must be remembered that by pleasure he meant not the vulgar titillation of the senses, but that peace of mind which results from a calm self-possession and steady balance with respect to everything around.—*P. Decio*. P. Decius Mus (the son of another P. Decius Mus, who, as consul, devoted himself to death, B.C. 340, to secure the victory to his countrymen in the great Latin war) devoted himself to death, after the example of his father, when consul for the fourth time, B.C. 295, at the battle of Sentinum, to secure the defeat of the Etruscans, Gauls, Umbrians, and Samnites.—*M'Curius Dentatus* was consul for the first time B.C. 290.—*sua sponte*, "for its own sake;" a rare meaning, which results from its junction with a passive verb.—*exstructis*, "piled up," the slave who put the dishes on the table being called *structor*.—*divine enim Plato, &c.* See Timæus 69. D. ἡδονὴ μέγιστον κακῶν δέλεαρ.—*C. Duillius*, when consul B.C. 260, by means of the well-known κόρακες gained over the Carthaginians the first naval victory the Romans had

ever won, and in consequence obtained the right, though Cicero says only tacitly, to return from banquets preceded by torches and a flute-player.—*M. F.*, i. e., *Marci Filium.*—*nullo exemplo,* "there being no precedent in favour of such a practice."—*me quæstore*, i. e., B.C. 205. In this year the statue of the Magna Mater, or Cybele, was brought from Pessinus in Phrygia, and a festival of six days, beginning on the 4th of April, called the Megalesia, was instituted. It was probably at this time that the clubs (*sodalitates*) met and feasted together.—*ætatis*, i. e, "youth." —*convivium,* from *con-vivere*, because of the common and united life of friends at such meetings. The Greeks, on the other hand, used words indicative of less lofty associations, as *συμπόσιον* and *σύνδειπνον*, which referred not to a common life, but merely to drinking and eating in common.

XIV. Old age, though not utterly debarred from the pleasures of sense, has nobler resources, as may be proved by many instances, in the pursuit of learning and wisdom. *Tempestivis,* i. e., "quæ tempestive ineuntur. Et quia fere tempestiva convivia sunt hilariora, paullo plus etiam producuntur. Proinde hoc loco et sæpe alibi utrumque significatur."—Gernhard. The usual hour for dinner was three or four o'clock. But those who were going to "make a night of it" often began earlier. Horace makes Nasidienus invite Mecenas to dine with him *de medio die,* from pure *gaucherie.*—*modus,* "a mean."—*sensu,* "a perception of them."—*magisteria,* the post of *magister, arbiter,* or *rex, bibendi,* who was appointed sometimes by acclamation, sometimes by throwing the dice, and regulated the wine that should be drunk, the quantity of water that should be allowed, and the rate of drinking.—*a summo.* In the Roman triclinium there were three couches ranged round three sides of the table, the other side being left open to enable the slaves to put the dishes on, and take them off. If, then, the reader will imagine himself to be placed with his face towards the side of the table unoccupied by a couch, and looking at the couch on his right hand, called *lectus summus,* the person nearest him will be *summus,* the next person *medius,* and the next *imus.* The couch opposite him, *lectus medius,* will likewise be occupied by three persons, who, ranging from right to left, will be as before, *summus, medius,* and *imus;* and the same will be the case with the couch on his left, *lectus imus.* Hence *a summo* will mean "from the first, or outside, guest on the *lectus summus.*—*in poculo,* "over the wine."—in *symposio Xenophontis,* *Οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἢν μὲν ἀθρόον τὸ ποτὸν ἐγχεώμεθα, ταχὺ ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ αἱ γνῶμαι σφαλοῦνται, καὶ οὐδὲ ἀναπνεῖν, μὴ ὅτι λέγειν τι δυνησόμεθα· ἢν δὲ ἡμῖν οἱ παῖδες μικραῖς κύλιξι πυκνὰ ἐπιψεκάζωσιν (ἵνα καὶ ἐγὼ ἐν Γοργιείοις ῥήμασιν εἴπω), οὕτως οὐ βιαζόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου μεθύειν, ἀλλ' ἀναπειθόμενοι πρὸς τὸ παιγνιωδέστερον ἀφιξόμεθα.*—Symp. ii. 26.—*rorantia,* "quæ leviter irrorant convivas ideoque parum vini capiunt." Gern.—*in Sabinis,* i. e., "at his country seat in the Sabine country."—*vicinorum* is governed by *compleo.* So Virg. Æn. i. 215, "Implentur veteris Bacchi."—*At non est, &c.* "But some objector perhaps will say," &c.—*Di meliora,* i. e., *dent.* The whole story is taken from Plato's De Repub. i. 3.—*agresti,* "wild."—*bona ætas,* i. e., "youth."—*L. Ambivius Turpio* was a celebrated actor, who acted in most of Terence's plays.—*cavea.* "The whole of the place for the spectators (*θέατρον*) was sometimes designated *κοῖλον*, Latin *cavea,* it being in most cases a real excavation of the rock." Smith's

Dict. of Ant.—*prima cavea* is that part of the *cavea* nearest the stage, which was reserved for the senators and ambassadors (*primus subselliorum ordo.—propter*, "near at hand."—*quanti*, "of what value."—*emeritis stipendiis libidinis, &c.* So St. Paul says, "The *wages* of sin is death."—*otiosa*, "at leisure to reflect."—*C. Gallum.* C. Sulpicius Gallus was consul B.C. 166. Two years before this, when serving in Greece under L. Æmilius Paulus, he predicted to the soldiers the exact time at which an eclipse of the moon would occur and urged them not to be terrified. Besides being famous for his astronomical knowledge, he was a great orator, and well versed in Greek literature.—*aliquid describere*, "to draw some map."—*acutis*, "demanding ability."—*Nævius.* See notes on ch. vi.—*Truculento Plautus.* Plautus was born at Sarsina, in Umbria, about B.C. 254. The *Truculentus* and *Pseudolus* are the names of two of the twenty plays of Plautus which are still extant.—*Livium.* Livius Andronicus was the first Roman poet. A Greek by birth, and probably a Tarentine, he was taken by the Romans in war, and sold as a slave to M. Livius Salinator, by whom he was afterwards freed. He exhibited his first play B C. 240, when *C. Claudius Cento* and *M. Sempronius Tuditanus* were consuls.—*P. Licinii Crassi.* See notes on ch. ix.—*Crassi* is the subjective, *juris* the objective, genitive after *studii.—hujus P. Scipionis*, "the *present* P. Scipio," as being then alive. P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica bore the surname of Corculum in consequence of his knowledge of pontifical and civil law. He was consul B C. 162, and again B.C. 155.—*M. Cornelius Cethegus* was consul B.C. 204, with P. Sempronius Tuditanus. (See ch. iv.) Horace ranks him with Cato, as aiding the development of the language. See II. Ep. ii. 117.—*Suadæ medulla.* The whole passage is quoted from Ennius by Cicero, in Brut., ch. xv. The goddess Suada answered to the Greek goddess Πειθώ.—*ut ante dixi.* See ch. viii. and the note.

XV. Moreover, old age is not shut out from the pleasures and pursuits of a country life.

Habere rationem cum is a mercantile phrase, "to have an account with."—*alias—plerumque* is like *alias—alias*, but rises *a minore ad majus.—occare*, Cicero says, is derived from *occæcare.* It is needless to say that this attempt at etymology, like most of the etymological attempts of the ancients, is altogether wrong.—*spici ordine structam*, "built up in the regular form of an ear."—*malleoli.* Gernhard quotes Columella, iii. 6. "Malleolus novellus est palmes, innatus prioris anni flagello, cognominatusque a similitudine rei, quod in ea parte, quæ deciditur ex vetere sarmento, prominens utrinque malleoli speciem præbet."—*plantæ* are sprouts cut from the parent stock, "tenero de corpore matrum." (Virg. Georg. ii. 23.)—*sarmenta* are twigs used as slips.—*viviradices* are, as the name implies, slips with some of the root of the parent tree still attached to them.—*propagines*, "layers," or twigs, still attached to the parent-stock, but pinned down to, and partly covered by, the soil, to make them strike root. So Virgil, Georg. ii. 26,

> "Silvarumque aliæ pressos propaginis arcus
> Expectant et viva sua plantaria terra."

—*erratico* agrees with *lapsu.—silvescat*, "run to wood."—*ea quæ* is attracted into the feminine, to agree with *gemma* in the predicate. So S ll. Cat. 51, "Quæ apud alios iracundia dicitur ea in imperio, &c." See Mad-

vig. § 313 and 315.c.—*capitum jugatio.* "Hinc jugata vinea, jugatæ vites, in jugum erectæ. Jugum enim, Græv. monere pergit, in vineis dicebantur perticæ humi defixæ, quibus aliæ imponebantur superius transversæ, ad instar jugi militaris." Gernhard.—*aliorum immissio,* "the letting others grow." So *immissa barba,* Virg. Æn. iii. 593.—*repastinationes,* from *pastinum,* "a dibble."—*Dixi in eo libro,* i. e., in his work *De Re Rustica.* —*Hesiodus,* &c. See notes on ch. vii.—*Laertem stercorantem.*

Τὸν δ' οἶον πατέρ' εὗρεν ἐϋκτιμένῃ ἐν ἀλωῇ
λιστρεύοντα φυτόν.

This, however, is hardly equivalent to dunging, as Comm. have observed.

XVI. The same subject.

In hac vita, "in such a life as I have depicted in the last chapter."—*a me ipso recedam,* "depart from my plan."—*L Quinctius Cincinnatus* was dictator B.C. 458, in order to deliver the consul L. Minucius Esquilinus Augurinus, from the Æquians, and again, B.C. 439, when eighty years of age, to oppose Spurius Mælius. Spurius Mælius himself being certainly guilty of buying up corn during a severe famine, and selling it at a low price, or giving it away, and being possibly guilty of aspiring, though a plebeian, to the consulship, was summoned by Ahala, Cincinnatus's master of the horse, to appear before the dictator's tribunal to be murdered judicially. On his refusing to obey the summons, and retreating among the crowd for protection, Ahala rushed after him and murdered him without judicial forms.—*occupatum interemit,* "anticipated him in his designs, and put him to death before he could accomplish them." So Livy, xxi. 39. "*Occupavit* tamen Scipio Padum trajicere."—*saturitate* is subjective; *copia,* objective.—*quidam desiderant,* . . . *redeamus* refers to the opinion combatted in ch. xiii., "omnia quæ faceremus ad voluptatem esse referenda," and the words in ch. xiv., "ne omnino bellum indixisse videar voluptati."—*succidiam alteram,* "their other flitch," because it is as useful to them as the flitch they have a cut at day by day.—*supervacaneis operis. Operis* is the abl. from *opera.* If, however, we read *supervacanei,* we must understand that "*supervacanei operis aucupium* est cui servimus tempore quasi subsecivo, cum justo et legitimo sumus defuncti opere, seu labore, quem agri cultura poscit."—*ad quem fruendum.* The gerundives of *utor, fruor,* &c., ordinarily have this construction. See Madvig. § 265, obs. 2.—*Habeant,* i. e., *juvenes.*—*talos. Tali,* or huckle-bones were used in games of chance, four at a time, the four sides large enough for them to rest on, being alone marked with numbers.—*tesseras,* "dice." These were marked just like our dice, on all six sides, and were used three at a time.

XVII. The dignity of rural pursuits shown in the younger Cyrus's devotion to them. Instances of old men whose honour and authority have increased with their years.

Ut facitis, "as indeed you do."—*loquitur* is here followed by the accusative and infinitive; a rare construction.—*Cyrum Minorem.* Cyrus the Younger, so called to distinguish him from Cyrus the Elder, the founder of the Persian empire, was the youngest son of Darius Nothus and Parysatis, and lost his life at the battle of Cunaxa, in attempting to wrest the crown from his elder brother Artaxerxes, B.C. 401.—*Lysander,* the successor of Cratesippidas as admiral of the Spartan fleet, and envoy to Cyrus.—*venisset ad eum Sardis,* "had come to him to Sardis." We should say, in our idiom,

"had come to him *at* Sardis."—*communem* and *humanum* differ from each other as a disposition differs from a principle.—*puram*, "clear of weeds," &c.—*dimensa*, like other deponent perfect participles, is used passively.—*ornatum* is a substantive.—*perduxisse*, i. e., *agri colendi studium*.—*acta jam ætate*, "at the period of life when youth and strength were gone."—*sex et quadraginta anni*. M. Valerius Corvus was consul for the first time B.C. 348, and for the sixth time B.C. 299, according to the Fasti Consulares. Various attempts have been made to account for the discrepancy, but perhaps it will be sufficient to suppose, with Gernhard, that Cicero takes the number 46 in order to make the comparison as close as possible between the military age and the period during which Valerius was in high office.—*apex*, "the highest glory."—*A. Atilius Calatinus*, as consul B.C. 258 and 254, and dictator B.C. 249, carried on the war against the Carthaginians in Sicily with very great success.—*carmen*, i. e., "the inscription."—*P. Crassum*. See notes on ch. ix. He was chosen pontifex maximus B.C. 212. — *M. Æmilius Lepidus* was consul B.C. 187 and 175, and was chosen pontifex maximus B.C. 180.—*honorata*, "when honoured."

XVIII. Only that old age is to be praised which is built on the foundations of a virtuous youth.

Defenderet, though really dependent on *efficitur*, is attracted into the past tense by *dixi*, which, as often in Latin, is looked on as an aorist instead of a present perfect.—*cani*, i. e., *capilli*.—*fructus . . . extremos*, "reaps the fruit of authority last."—*salutari*. It was the custom for distinguished Romans to hold a levee in the morning for their clients and those who wished to consult them. See Hor. I. Sat. i. 10, "Sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat." Martial, iv. 8, 1, "Prima salutantes atque altera conterit hora."—*appeti*, "to be sought after."—*decedi*, *assurgi*, "to be made way for, to have persons rising up by way of respect." So Juvenal, Sat. xiii. 54:

> "Credebant hoc grande nefas, et morte piandum
> Si juvenis vetulo non assurrexerat, et si
> Barbato cuicumque puer."

Notice the peculiarity of these two intransitive verbs being used in the passive voice.—*deduci, reduci*, "to be escorted from home and back again."—*morata* is derived from *mores*, not from *mora*.—*ludis*, i. e., *Panathenaicis*.—*magno consessu* is in the ablative absolute.—*sessum* is a supine.—*nostro*, i. e., *augurali*.—*sententiæ principatum tenet*, "takes precedence in giving his opinion."—*honore*, "in official position."—*cum imperio*, "with the military imperium," a power given only to dictators, consuls, pro-consuls, and prætors, and always at the *comitia curiata*.—*fabulam ætatis*. See the quotation from Shakespeare in notes on ch. ii.—*corruisse*, "to have broken down."—*At* introduces an objection. "But, perhaps, some one will say."—*si quærimus*, "if we look into the matter."—*non illius quidem justæ*, "not a just one indeed."—*contemni* (connected with *temere* and the Greek τέμνω), "to be thought lightly of," is weaker than *despici*, "to be looked down upon;" and that again is weaker than *illudi*.—*artibus*, "by knowledge of the liberal arts."—*Adelphis*, the play of the Adelphi, written by P. Terentius Afer, who was born at Carthage, B.C. 195.—*in altero diritas, in altero comitas*. "Duo senes in scenam inducuntur, valde inter se dissimiles. Demea nimis dirus, Micio nimis facilis." Gernhard.

XIX. The fourth objection to old age, that it is so near death, is disposed of by the consideration that death is harmless, if it leads to annihilation, and desirable, if it leads to immortality.

Sollicitam habere, "to keep anxious," is stronger than *sollicitare*.—*aliquo*, "to some place."—*quod ni ita accideret*, &c. That is to say: "If there were not so few old men in the world, people would act more rightly and wisely."—*in optimo filio*, "in my excellent son." This was M. Porcius Cato Licinianus. He first distinguished himself in the campaign against Perseus. Subsequently he became celebrated as a jurist, and died, when prætor designatus, about B.C. 152.—*fratribus*. L. Æmilius Paullus had originally four sons. Two he allowed to leave his own family, and be adopted into those of Scipio, the son of the conqueror of Hannibal, and Fabius Maximus. Of the two that were left to him he lost one a few days before, and the other a few days after, his triumph over Perseus.—*quod speret*, "anything to hope for."—*ille . . . hic*. Here *hic* does not refer to the person last mentioned, that is, the young man, but to the one "de quo potissimum agitur," i. e., the old man. So *ille* refers not to the more remote, but to the less prominent of the two persons mentioned.—*supremum*, "the latest possible." —*Tartessiorum*. Tartessus (the Tarshish of Scripture) was a town and district on the Bætis, or Guadalquivir, founded by the Tyrians.—*Arganthonius* lived in the sixth century B.C.—*Gades*, now Cadiz, lies to the west of Gibraltar, on the island of S. Leon.—*aliquid extremum*, "some limit."—*modo* = *dummodo*.—*Plaudite*. This word was usually to be found in the last line of the play, as at the end of Terence's Heaut., "Vos valete et plaudite." So Hor. A. P. 155:

> "Si plausoris eges aulæa manentis, et usque
> Sessuri donec cantor, 'Vos plaudite,' dicat."

—*nulla adhibita vi*. Gernhard quotes Soph. Œd. R. 961.,

> σμικρὰ παλαιὰ σώματ' εὐνάζει ῥοπή.

—*quasi*, Sommerbrodt remarks, is an archaism for *quemadmodum*. He adds, that Cicero purposely puts archaisms into Cato's mouth throughout this dialogue, and gives as instances the many deponent participles used passively, the construction *quam viam . . . ingrediendum sit*, in ch. ii., and the form *audaciter* in the next chapter.—*cocta*, i. e., *ardore solis*.—*aliquando* = *jam tandem aliquando*.

XX. Death is fearful to no one who possesses true nobility of mind, especially to no old man, as age produces a certain satiety of life, and satiety of life makes the mind ripe for death.

Munus officii. For the difference between these two words see notes on ch. x.—*Pisistratus*, the tyrant of Athens, was born probably about B.C. 612.—*integra mente certisque sensibus* = ἀκεραίου ἔτι ὄντος τοῦ νοῦ καὶ ὑγιαινουσῶν τῶν αἰσθήσεων, as the Greek commentator, quoted by Gernhard, has it. So Horace wishes for "mens sana in corpore sano." —*Solonis . . . elogium*. The lines alluded to are these:

> Μηδέ μοι ἄκλαυστος θάνατος μόλοι, ἀλλὰ φίλοισι
> Καλλείποιμι θανὼν ἄλγεα καὶ στοναχάς.

—*faxit*. See notes on ch. i.—*Jam sensus moriendi aliquis*, &c. Negari non potest in ipso moriendi articulo esse sensum aliquem; sed is est

exigui temporis, præsertim in sene, cujus vita sine luctatione dissolvitur. Gern.—*meditatum* is used passively.—*incertum an* follows the rule of haud scio an, nescio an, &c., in denoting a suspicion that the thing is so.—*non ita longa,* "not *so very* long."—*Lucius Junius Brutus* helped to drive the Tarquins out of Rome, and as consul the same year, B.C. 509, fell in mortal fight with Aruns, the son of Tarquin.—*M. Atilius Regulus,* when consul for the second time, B.C. 256, invaded Africa in the ninth year of the first Punic war, and was eminently successful, till the superior skill of the Lacedæmonian, Xanthippus, caused his total defeat and capture. Five years after, being sent to Rome with the Carthaginian ambassadors to propose terms of peace and exchange of prisoners, he dissuaded his countrymen from acceding to either request, and returned back in obedience to his promise, to suffer all the tortures that Carthaginian rage could inflict on him. Such at least is the story the Romans loved to tell. See Hor. Od. iii. 5, 13—56. —*M. Claudius Marcellus,* the conqueror of Syracuse, fell into an ambuscade of Numidians in his fifth consulship, B.C. 208, and was killed at once by a spear-thrust. Hannibal, out of respect for his valour, had him buried with the honour due to his rank.—*in Originibus.* See the notes on chap. xi.—*vitæ facit satietatem.* So Lucretius, iii. 951. "Cur non, ut plenus vitæ conviva, recedis?" and Horace I. Sat. i. 118, "exacto contentus tempore vita Cedat uti conviva satur."—*extrema,* "last of all."

XXI. Cato supports his views on the immortality of the soul by arguments drawn from the Pythagoreans and from Plato.

Ab ea propius absum, "I am nearer *to* it."—*vestros patres.* See the notes on ch. i.—*incolas pœne nostros,* as having their head-quarters at Crotona in the south of Italy.—*ex universa mente, &c.* The Pythagorean doctrine with respect to the human soul was, that it was derived from the soul of the universe, and in its nature was identical with the central fire. See Virg. Georg. iv. 220 sqq. and Æn. vi. 724 sqq.—*quæ Socrates,* &c. The conversation referred to is preserved to us in Plato's Phædo.—*sapientissimus Apollinis oraculo judicatus.* Plato tells us in his Apology that Chærephon asked the oracle at Delphos whether any one was wiser than Socrates, and received for answer that there was no one. Gernhard quotes from the Scholiast to Aristophanes the words of the oracle:

Σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς· σοφώτερος δ' Εὐριπίδης·
ἀνδρῶν δὲ πάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος.

—*tantæ scientiæ.* The uncommon plural *scientiæ* (ἐπιστῆμαι) may, as Sommerbrodt suggests, be excused by the preceding *artes,* and the following *inventa.*—*cum semper agitetur animus.* Gernhard quotes Plato Phædr. p. 318 : Μόνον δὴ τὸ αὐτὸ κινοῦν, ἅτε οὐκ ἀπολεῖπον ἑαυτὸ, οὔποτε λήγει κινούμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὅσα κινεῖται, τοῦτο πηγὴ καὶ ἀρχὴ κινήσεως.—*cum simplex animi natura esset.* So Butler argues in his Analogy, that as death must be considered as the resolution of what is compounded, into its simple parts, the soul being uncompounded cannot die. See the same thought in Cicero Tusc. Disp. i. 29.—*esset* and *haberet* appearing in the middle of present tenses of the subjunctive, as if they depended on *persuasi* used as an aorist, and not on *sentio,* are singular.—*reminisci* is momentary, *recordari* more than momentary, "recalling to the memory." For the doctrine, see Plato Phædrus,

pp. 249, 250, where it is maintained that the ease with which, in accordance with the law of our mental constitution, we realise to ourselves, and apply in building up scientific truth, our mathematical and other intuitions, is a proof that we came into the world with considerable stores of previously acquired knowledge, and that therefore we must have already lived before, and having thus survived one change, that is equivalent to death, without perishing, we may very well pass through another and yet another, and still survive. Wordsworth plays with the same idea for poetical purposes in his celebrated Ode on the Intimations of Immortality from the Recollections of Childhood:

> "Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting:
> The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
> Hath had elsewhere its setting,
> And cometh from afar:
> Not in entire forgetfulness,
> And not in utter nakedness,
> But trailing clouds of glory do we come
> From God who is our home."

XXII. A quotation from Xenophon's Cyropædia is given in support of the same views.

Apud Xenophontem. The quotation is from his novel of The Cyropædia, viii. 7, but it is not very closely rendered.—*Nec vero clarorum*, &c.—This argument, that the permanence of the fame of men seems to involve the permanence of the men themselves, reminds us of, though it is different from, the beautiful Scripture argument, "I am the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob. God is not the God of the dead but of the living."—*ceterarum rerum* depends on *quæque.*—*abeunt illuc unde orta sunt.* So Virgil, Georg. iv. 225:

> "Scilicet huc reddi deinde ac resoluta referri
> Omnia; nec morti esse locum, sed viva volare
> Sideris in numerum atque alto succedere cœlo."

—*ut Deum*, i. e., "as a part of the divine being from which my soul emanated."—*hanc omnem pulchritudinem.* So Akenside speaks of

> "All the fair variety of things."

XXIII. Cato's own views on the subject.

Nostra, "my own views."—*Africani patrem et patruum.* See notes on Chap. ix.—*conatos esse* = *conaturos fuisse*, as Sommerbrodt remarks; the perfect infinitive being used to show more lively that the thing was really done. So *cernerent* is put for *vidissent.*—*nescio quomodo*, like *nescio quis* and *nescio quid*, are parenthetical, and therefore the following verb is not in the subjunctive.—*Quid, quod . . . ?* "What shall we say to this that . . . ?"—*quis*, "any one."—*Peliam recoxerit.* According to Ovid it was Æson, not Pelias, who, being cut up and boiled in a caldron by Medea with magical incantations, emerged with renewed youth. The same process was tried on Pelias by his daughters, but without effect. But Gernhard quotes Plautus, Pseud. iii. 2, 80, as the

passage which, very possibly, led Cicero into the mistake of substituting one person for another.

> " Quia sorbitione faciam ego te hodie mea,
> Item ut Medea Peliam concoxit senem,
> Quem medicamento et suis venenis dicitur
> Fecisse rursus ex sene adolescentulum.

hac ætate, "my present age."—*a calce ad carceres*, "from the goal to the stalls," i. e., "all over again." The *calx* was the chalked rope, *alba linea*, up to which the horses had all to be brought up abreast for a fair start, and the goal to which they had to return. The *carceres* were the stalls in which the horses and chariots were kept, till the doors were thrown open at a given signal, that they might be led out to the *calx*.—*tanquam ex hospitio*, &c. So Saint Paul speaks of Christians as "strangers and pilgrims upon earth;" and adds, "For they that say such things declare plainly that they seek a country."—*Catonem meum*, "my son Cato." See note on ch. xix.—*quod* is the acc. after *contra*. See Cic. pro Mur. iv. "quem contra veneris."—*non quo . . . sed* = *non quod . . . sed quia*; the former, as not introducing the real reason, governing the subjunctive; and the latter as introducing the real reason, the indicative.—*peractio*, "the catastrophe," a metaphor taken, as is evident, from the stage.

NOTES ON THE LÆLIUS.

THE Lælius, or Treatise on Friendship, was written shortly after the Cato Major, and therefore under the influence of the same political circumstances and private feelings. It is also dedicated to the same person, his friend T. Pomponius Atticus, and has for its aim at once to pay a graceful tribute to their mutual affection, by showing how deep the foundations of true friendship are, and how wide reaching its sympathies, and at the same time to exhibit the relations that friendship bears to political life, and the manner in which it tends to benefit the state.

The treatise is cast in the form of a dialogue between C. Lælius, one of the interlocutors in the Cato Major, and his two sons-in-law, Q. Mucius Scævola and C. Fannius. The two last are represented as paying their father-in-law a visit a few days after the death of his great friend Scipio Africanus Minor (B.C. 129), who was probably murdered in the fierce struggles of party warfare by C. Papirius Carbo, as a stubborn and dangerous aristocrat. The conversation begins by Fannius's telling Lælius how anxious people are to hear how he, whom they all look on as especially deserving the name of "wise," bears the death of his friend Scipio. Lælius acknowledges that he is distressed at his own loss, but says that he is comforted by the thought that to Scipio death has brought not loss, but gain; since, whether the souls of the good rise to a superior state of being, or are annihilated, he is in either case above the touch of calamity. Lælius then adds that the remembrance of the friendship that existed between Scipio and himself is his great joy and comfort, and trusts that it will not be forgotten by posterity.

Hereupon Fannius and Scævola entreat him to give them his views on friendship. Lælius, referring them to the regular professors of philosophy for a scientific dissertation on the subject, declares that friendship is only possible among the good, because the good alone follow nature, which has made us social beings. He then defines friendship to be "AN ENTIRE AGREEMENT ON ALL THINGS DIVINE AND HUMAN CONJOINED WITH GOOD-WILL AND AFFECTION," and pronounces such a fellowship to be useful on all occasions, to outweigh all other advantages, and to be the cement, not only among individuals, but also in the body politic.

He then pauses, and refers his sons-in-law once more to those who are in the habit of discussing such subjects in public. But being again pressed to proceed, he investigates the ORIGIN of friendship, and decides that it does not flow from the feeling of self-interest, that it is not the result of a calculation, but of an impulse, implanted by nature, to love

that which deserves to be loved, and that it is for this reason—because the tendency to friendship is a part of the original constitution of our being, which is, of course, not susceptible of change—that true and perfect friendship is itself eternal.

He then, after a little more pressing, goes on to treat PRACTICALLY that which he has considered hitherto THEORETICALLY. He first remarks how difficult it is to raise common every-day acquaintance to the height of that true and perfect friendship which he has been praising, in consequence of the promptings of ambition in noble, and of lower feelings in ignoble, natures. This leads him to consider how far we should go in doing what our friends ask us to do; and he decides that we should do for them, and expect from them, only what is honourable, but that within the area marked out by that limitation we should do all we can for them, without waiting to be asked, freely giving advice, or throwing in reproof, when necessary, knowing well that the joys arising from friendship far outweigh any trouble it may entail, and keeping in sight that we become more truly human, and therefore more divine, as our affections enlarge and become more active. Hence it may be seen that, though friendship does not spring from the prospect of advantage, yet advantage results from friendship, as all true friends are impelled to do good to each other in order to show their love.

With respect to the LIMITS of friendship, Lælius says, there are three prevalent opinions: (1) that we must feel towards our friends as towards ourselves; (2) that our regard for them must correspond to their regard for us; (3) that we must set the same value on them as they do on themselves. The first is wrong, because there are many occasions on which we may gracefully do for others what we could not venture to do for ourselves; the second is wrong, because it would be intolerable to weigh friendships in the scales, and keep a debtor and creditor account respecting it; and the third is equally at fault, because if our friends undervalue themselves, as the good often do, or if they despair of success in life, we are bound not to do so, but to value them aright, and encourage them to hope for better things. In fact there should be a perfect community in all respects, in plan and in will.

Hence the necessity of care in the CHOICE of friends. The firm and stable and consistent alone should be chosen; and such characters are to be found only among the good. It follows that old friends are better than new ones, as their good qualities must be known, and have been long tried, and the power of habit in cementing affection is strong.

Again, there should be an EQUALITY between friends, the superior putting himself on an equality with the inferior, and helping him to rise as far as his capacity will let him; and the inferior not grieving at the advancement of the superior.

Lælius now descends from the intimacies of the wise to ORDINARY FRIENDSHIPS. Such connections, he says, must occasionally be dissolved; but they should be so dissolved that some of the former tenderness of feeling be preserved, and no bitterness or open enmity supervene. But as this is a difficult matter, we should take the greatest care with whom we get acquainted, and first try to be good ourselves, and then seek our associates among the good. And friendship is worth all this trouble; for without it life would be intolerable. Again, as differences must arise in the wear and tear of life, there is constant

need of mutual toleration, and forbearance, and trust. One offence, however, is fatal to friendship; and that is, impatience at advice, when given in a kindly and delicate manner. So, of course, flattery and a love of flattery are incompatible with friendship.

Lastly, Lælius returns to the consideration of the FRIENDSHIP OF THE WISE, and reasserts that Virtue alone can gain or preserve it; declares that he has chosen all his friends on this principle; and that, with the sole exception of virtue itself, nothing is to be preferred to it, either for the delight it gives, or for the nobility of character that it fosters.

It will be evident from this analysis of the contents of this dialogue on friendship, that it is by no means so simple or so regular as that on old age. The subject itself is more difficult, and perhaps more dependent on principles which, from Cicero's position, were less known to him than to us. For instance, perhaps the least satisfactory part of the dialogue is that in which the practical rules enunciated for the benefit of the wise are separated from those intended for the not wise. The treatise would have been much simplified, and some repetition would have been avoided, if the two sets of rules had been amalgamated, as there is no such broad line of demarcation between man and man as to make what is said to one totally inapplicable to another. Cicero was probably in some measure under the influence of the then common opinion that the good and the bad are radically distinct one from the other; and that, as virtue is not to be learnt, there is a great gulf fixed between them, which neither can pass over; whereas the true view is that all men have both good and evil within them, and that they can all be taught to foster the good and hold down and destroy the evil in them; and hence, having the same natures, and being open to the same faults, can profit by the same rules.

Again we, before whose eyes the Pattern Friend has been evidently set forth, and who know that the proper aim of life is to live for God's glory, ought to be able to see more clearly than it was given to Cicero to see, that we ought to choose men as our friends according as they bear the marks of likeness to Him who is set before us as our model: that among such we should cleave most to those who can best help us in doing the work which God has given us to do, and that our duty to those whom we have so chosen is in like manner to aid them in doing the work set before them, that so we and they may help each other to be conformed to that image which it is the will of God that we should be like.

From these considerations the whole theory and practice of friendship may be deduced. If Cicero is at fault once or twice in the course of his remarks on the subject, the wonder is that with his light he saw so much. There are few writings of the ancients so full of noble thoughts, so decisively manifesting a soul athirst for that Revelation which he almost lived to witness.

I. Whence the materials for the work were obtained. Its subject and occasion. The speakers introduced. The dedication to Atticus.

Quintus Mucius Scævola the Augur, was the son-in-law of C. Lælius Sapiens. He was tribune of the people B.C. 128, was prætor of Asia B.C. 121, and the next year was accused and acquitted of embezzlement, and was consul B.C. 117. That he was a very old man B.C. 90, is

evident from Cicero, Philipp, viii. 10, and that he was alive B.C. 88 is shown further on in this chapter. See Smith's Biog. Dict.—*sumpta virili toga.* Children wore the *toga prætexta*, or purple-bordered toga, till they were considered to have arrived at the age of adolescence. They then assumed the *toga virilis* or *toga pura*, which was without the purple border. The age for assuming the manly toga and going through the attendant ceremonies was not definitely fixed. In earlier times probably it took place in the sixteenth or seventeenth, and later in the fifteenth year.—*quoad*, "as far as."—*prudenter*, "learnedly."—*pontificem Scævolam.* This was Q. Mucius Scævola the Pontifex, so called to distinguish him from the Augur just mentioned. He was consul B.C. 95, and was assassinated during the Marian riots by C. Flavius Fimbria. He was great as an orator and a jurist, and wrote a work in eighteen books on the Jus Civile, which is said (see Smith's Biog. Dict.) to have had a great influence on succeeding jurists.—*unum*, "especially," has a superlative force, like εἷς ἀνὴρ in Greek.—*alias*, Cicero had done this in his Brutus, c. xxxix., lxxxix.—*Quum sæpe multa.* Here is an anacoluthon. Cicero intended to insert some transitive verb like *colloqui*, instead of the intransitive *in sermonem incidere;* though even then the position of *memini* would make the construction irregular.—*qui tum fere erat in ore*, "which was pretty nearly on everybody's tongue."—*P. Sulpicius Rufus* was born B.C. 124, and was tribune of the people B.C. 88. Up to this time he had supported the aristocrats, and Q. Pompeius Rufus, one of the consuls of the year, was his greatest friend. But he afterwards broke with his party and his friend, joined the Marian faction, and was put to death by order of Sulla. For a description of his powers as an orator, see the Brutus, ch. lv.—*capitali*, "deadly."—*Q. Pompeius Rufus* was consul B.C. 88, was driven out of Rome by his former friend Sulpicius, but soon returned with Sulla at the head of a powerful army. The Marian faction was then proscribed. Sulla went off to finish the Mithridatic war, and Pompeius remained behind to govern Italy, but was soon after disgracefully murdered by Cn. Pompeius Strabo, the father of Pompeius Magnus.—*C. Fannius* distinguished himself in the third Punic war, and in the war against Viriathus. He composed histories of the third Punic war, and of the troubles connected with the Gracchi. For his character, see the Brutus, ch. xxvi.—*M. F.* = Marci Filio.—*mortem Africani.* Africanus Minor, the destroyer of Carthage, had, after irritating the popular party by opposing the tribune, C. Papirius Carbo's movement in favour of Ti. Gracchus's agrarian bill, declared Ti. Gracchus to have been deservedly put to death, though he was himself married to his sister. The next day he was found dead in his bed, the strongest suspicion falling on Carbo.—*quasi* qualifies *ipsos*.—*ne inquam et* . . . . "that '*said I*' and '*said he*' might not," &c.—*ageres*.—The person whom Cicero is here addressing is of course *Atticus*.—*feci* . . . . *ut prodessem.* The past subjunctive generally follows the present perfect in Latin, even when a past or aoristic sense is not admissible. See Arnold's Prose Comp., Part I., § 412, n.—*persona*, it must be remembered, never means *person* in the sense of *individual*. That is a much more recent meaning both of the Latin and of the English word. Here it means "one who represents a certain part; one who personates a certain character."—*et eorum*, "and those too."—*ad senem senex.* See notes on the Cato, ch. i.

II. Fannius states that, as Lælius is commonly called "the wise," and that in a peculiar sense, people are anxious to know how he bears the sudden loss of his friend Africanus.

Sunt ista. "It is as you say."—*hoc,* "this appellation of *Sapiens.*"—*modo M. Catoni.* Cato died B.C. 149, a year after the discourse *De Senectute* was supposed to have been uttered; and twenty years before the time of the present dialogue *De Amicitia.*—*L. Atilius,* who was the first man ever called *Sapiens,* was an eminent jurist, who flourished about B.C. 200.—*Te .... esse, &c.,* depends on *existimant* in the latter part of the sentence, *hanc esse in te sapientiam* being resumptive of the first clause, *te .... esse .... sapientem,* after the long parenthesis.—*Septem,* "*the* seven," i. e., the seven wise men.—*in numero sapientium non habent* = "do not consider them as theoretically wise, only as practically sagacious."—*unum,* "*but* one," i. e., Socrates.—*Apollinis oraculo.* See the lines quoted in the Cato Major, ch. xxi.—*in te posita, &c.* These grand statements that everything is in our own power, and that the wise man is above the reach of circumstances, so like and unlike the Christian view that a man may by the grace of God rise above the reach of circumstances, were the dogmas of the Stoical school. So Horace, II. Sat. vii. 83.

Sapiens, sibi qui imperiosus;
Quem neque pauperies, neque mors, neque vincula terrent;
Responsare cupidinibus, contemnere honores
Fortis; et in seipso totus, teres atque rotundus,
Externi ne quid valeat per leve morari,
In quem manca ruit semper fortuna.

—*Africani.* That is Africanus Minor, the hero of the third Punic war. —*D. Junius Brutus Gallæcus* was consul B.C. 138, triumphed over the Lusitani and Gallæci, and was one of the college of Augurs.—*collegio nostro,* i. e., the college of Augurs. This college consisted of fifteen members, who were looked on as the most dignified persons in the state. They met on the nones (*Nonis*) of every month (*commentandi causa*), for the purpose of considering and reporting on the prodigies that might require their attention.—*constanti,* "of firm and consistent character."—*mortem filii,* i. e., of M. Porcius Cato Licinianus.—*Paullum.* See notes on the Cato, ch. ix.—*Gallum,* i. e., C. Sulpicius Gallus.—*Hujus* refers to Cato, because he was nearer to the interlocutors in the dialogue with respect to time and place, though further as to the relative position of his name in the sentence.

III. Lælius acknowledges his distress at the loss of his friend; but says that it is mitigated by the reflection that, as his life was glorious, so no evil can have happened to him since his departure from life.

—*viderint sapentes,* i. e., the philosophers of the Stoa, who held that the duty of a wise man was *nil admirari,* to maintain a dispassionateness towards everything.—*amicum* depends on *amantis.*—*cum illo actum esse præclare,* "that it has fared well with him."—*factus consul est bis.* He was chosen consul for the first time B.C. 147, when he was canvassing for the ædileship, though he was only thirty-seven years old, and therefore six years below the legal age. In his next consulship B.C. 134, he took and razed Numantia, and obtained the title of Numantinus.—*pæne sero,* "almost too late," because of the frequent repulses

and consequent disorganisation of the Roman army before Scipio took the command.—*viriditatem.* So Dryden:

> He looked in years; and yet in years was seen
> A youthful vigour and autumnal green.

—*suspicentur.* See note on *mortem Africani.* ch. i.—*populo Romano,* i. e., the aristocrats in opposition to the democratic *plebs.*—*sociis et Latinis.* The Italian allies were distinct from the Latini. See Smith's Dict. of Ant. Gernhard quotes from Appian, B.C. i. 19, the reason why the allies were with Scipio. ταῦτα (i. e., Carbo's Agrarian Law) *οὐ φέροντες οἱ Ἰταλιῶται Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα . . . ἠξίουν προστάτην σφῶν ἀδικουμένων γενέσθαι.*

IV. Lælius says that Scipio must be well off, whether, as he himself believes with the ancients, with Pythagoras, and Plato, and Socrates, the souls of the good return to their native heaven; or, as others believe, are annihilated. While rejoicing in the memory of his friendship with Scipio, he is asked by Fannius and Scævola to give his views on friendship.

Omnia morte deleri. This was the opinion of the Epicureans and others.—*pertinere,* has for its subject *jura,* understood.—*Magnamque Græciam . . . erudiverunt,* i. e., the Pythagoreans who influenced Magna Græcia, or Southern Italy. See notes on the Cato, ch. xxi.—*ut plerique.* Some editions have *ut in plerisque* = "as he did on a good many other subjects."—*L. Furius Philus,* consul, B. C. 136, was a friend of Lælius and Scipio; and, as might be guessed from his surname, as fond as they of Greek literature.—*M'. Manilius,* consul B. C. 149, the first year of the third Punic war, was eminent as a jurist. He and Philus are both introduced as interlocutors with Scipio in the De Republicâ.—*extremum,* "the last part." This is the *Somnium Scipionis.*—*quæ.* The antecedent of *quæ* is contained in *de immortalitate animi.*—*in quiete* = *in somnis.* —*fuerat* = *fuisset.* So "Perieram nisi accusisses." See Arnold's Latin Prose Comp., § 448.—*tria aut quattuor paria amicorum.* These are Theseus and Pirithous, Achilles and Patroclus, Orestes and Pylades, Damon and Pythias, or Phintias.

V. Lælius refers his sons-in-law to the professors of philosophy for a regular dissertation on friendship, but urges them to prefer it to everything else; and asserts that it can exist only between the good, because the good alone try to follow nature, and nature has made us social beings.

Ut iis ponatur, "that a subject should be given them."—*Græcorum.* The Greek Sophists professed to be able to dispute on either side of any subject at a moment's notice.—*ad vivum reseco,* "I cut to the quick," i. e., "carry out too far."—*qui hæc subtilius disserunt,* i. e., the Stoics, who held that the wise man alone, i. e., the Stoic philosopher alone, was in his senses, or could in any way be called good. Every one else was ἄφρων: and πᾶς ἄφρων δοῦλος or πᾶς ἄφρων μαίνεται was a common saying among them. See Cicero. Paradox iv. and v.; and Horace II., Sat. iii., 45.

> Hæc populos, hæc magnos formula reges,
> Excepto sapiente, tenet.

fortasse vere, "perhaps rightly in theory."—*quam adhuc mortalis nemo est consecutus.* The standard set up by the Stoics was so high, that

though most of those who held the doctrines of the Stoa, professed to have reached it, yet no mortal man really could. The wise man, according to this sect, was equally capable of ruling a kingdom, or making a pair of shoes, and was morally and intellectually perfect and self-sufficing.—*obscurum,* "incapable of realisation."—*pingui Minerva.* The metaphor is taken from a coarsely woven fabric, and = "non subtili ac spinosa disputatione, sed ad vulgarem opinionem et populari oratione." So Horace describes Ofellus (II. Sat. ii., 3), as

"Abnormis sapiens, crassaque Minerva."

—*ut quisque proxime accederet,* "as each one approached nearer to us." The doctrine contained in this passage is that "a state of nature" is not, as many modern writers have foolishly laid down, a state of isolation and barbarism, but a social state.—*his,* i. e., *propinquis,* though *alieni* stands nearer to it. See note on *ille—hic* in the Cato, ch. xix.—*Namque hoc præstat amicitia propinquitati.* This is a bad argument; for it might be rejoined that in this very respect the ties of blood are more binding than those of friendship, since when affection has ceased towards our relations, the ties of duty still compel us not to forsake them.—*contracta est . . . jungeretur.* This is another instance of the preference of the Latins for a past tense after a present perfect, when we should use a present tense.

VI. Friendship defined, and its advantages stated.

Nihil aliud, "nothing less."—*haud scio an . . . quidquam.* Here we should expect *haud scio an . . . nihil;* but the ordinary rule is not strictly followed in the case of those words which are always used in negative sentences; as, *quisquam, ullus, unquam, usquam.*—*hoc,* i. e., "the preference of pleasure."—*sermonis nostri,* "our ordinary method of talking."—*quidam docti,* i. e., the Stoics.—*qui omnino nusquam reperiuntur,* i. e., "the perfect wise men of the Stoics."—*opportunitates,* "advantages."—*vita vitalis,* "a life that is truly life and not mere existence." So Tennyson speaks of seeing

In more of life true life no more
And Love the indifference to be.

—*opes,* "power, influence."—*non aqua, non igni, ut aiunt,* &c. Gernhard quotes from Plutarch the proverb, πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος ὁ φίλος ἀναγκαιότερος.—*qui pauci nominantur.* See the note on *tria aut quattuor paria amicorum* in ch. iv.

VII. The advantages of friendship further considered. Lælius is urged to continue the subject.

Illa, i. e., *commoditate.*—*prælucet in posterum,* "throws a light forward upon the future"—*Agrigentinum quendam,* i. e., Empedocles, who flourished about B. C. 444, and held that the universe was the result of the action of contrary forces, νεῖκος and φιλία. So Horace I. Ep. xii., 19, 20.

Quid velit et possit rerum *concordia discors,*
Empedocles, an Stertinium deliret acumen.

—*officium,* "a good service."—*Stantes plaudebant,* "They stood up and applauded."—*sentirem,* is attracted into the past tense after *potuisse,* instead of being in the present after *videor.*—*qui ista disputant,* i. e., the professed sophists and rhetoricians.—*Quid amicitiam?* = "*Quid diceris, si amicitiam eum defendentem audires.*"

VIII. Whether friendship springs from the prospect of advantage; or from a natural impulse.—For the doctrine contained in this and the next chapter, compare Aristotle's Ethics, viii. 3.

Vim . . . affere, "to use force."—*proprium*, "a property," though not the essence.—*percipiuntur*, "are reaped."—*temporis causa*, "temporary purposes."—*applicatione*, "inclination, attachment."—*sensus*, "their feelings."—*detestabili scelere.* Gern. and Somm., quote the case of Brutus condemning his sons to death for treason to their country.—*similis*, "like to the feeling just mentioned as existing between parents and children."—*quos nunquam viderit*, "though he has never seen them."—*Tarquinius Superbus*, the last king of Rome, reigned from B.C. 532 to B.C. 507, and was driven out in consequence of the tyrannical conduct of himself and his sons.—*Spurius Cassius Viscellinus*, consul for the first time B.C. 502, and for the third time B.C. 486, the renewer of the league with the Latins and Hernicans, fell a victim to patrician hate for proposing and carrying the first agrarian law; and being accused of aiming at the regal power was scourged and beheaded.—*Hannibale . . . crudelitatem.* So Livy (xxi. 4), lays to his charge *inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plusquam Punica.* But the charge is probably altogether false. Polybius expressly denies it, and Livy mentions several circumstances which tend to disprove it. See Livy xxi. 21, 22; xxv. 17; xxvii. 28.

IX. The true origin of friendship is to be found in the natural desire of loving in others that which is truly worthy of love.

Usu, "in intimacy."—*assequatur*, i. e., *quisque*, which appears in the dependent clause. This, indeed, is its usual position, as may be seen in the next sentence. So Gern. quotes Cic. Offic. I. 20, 65, "Facillime autem ad res injustas impellitur, ut quisque est altissimo animo, gloriæ cupiditate."—*ut quisque*, "as each one."—*sed natura, &c.* It would seem more natural to have *sed quia natura, &c.*, unless we place the clause in the parenthesis with *neque enim beneficium feneramur.*—*Ab his*, "from this view."—*significatione probitatis*, "indications of goodness"—*pares in amore*, "equal in strength of affection."—*æquales*, equal in position with respect to each other."—*hæc*, though referring to the previous clause, is attracted as usual to agree with *concertatio*, the substantive that follows it.—*vultis*, i. e., *dicere.*

X. The difficulties in the way of maintaining friendships unimpaired through life.

Incidere is governed by *dicebat.*—*prætexta toga.* See notes on ch. I.—*ponerentur*, "*are* laid aside;" *we* should say.—*uxoriæ conditionis*, "marriage." "Conditio," says Ernesti, "ponitur pro nuptiis, quia fiunt sub *conditione* dotis: s. pro femina, quam uxorem ducimus dotis ratione habita."—*honoris*, i. e. "honours, magistracies."—*quidvis*, "anything of whatever nature."—*querela inveterata*, "the constant repetition of an old grievance."—*subterfugere*, as Somm. remarks, carries on the metaphor in *impendere.*

XI. As to the question how far a man should oblige a friend, it is determined that a man ought neither to ask a friend nor himself consent, if asked, to do anything that is dishonourable.

C. Marcius Coriolanus, according to the well-known legend, derived his name from the capture of the Volscian city Corioli, and being afterwards banished by the plebs, B.C. 490, offered his services to the Volscians, defeated his own countrymen, and was only prevented by his mother's prayers from taking Rome itself. Niebuhr (Lectures on the History of Rome, vol. i. p. 158), shows that B.C. 458, the two nations made peace

on the terms said to be dictated by Coriolanus, and supposes that his connection with it grew out of the feeling that none but a Roman could conquer Romans.—*Viscellinum*, i. e., *Sp. Cassium Viscellinum*. See notes on ch. viii.—*Q. Ælius Tubero*, surnamed the Stoic, was tribune of the people, together with Ti. Gracchus, in the year B.C. 133, and in that position opposed him. Afterwards, as Prætor B.C. 123, he made several speeches against C. Gracchus.—*C. Blossius* of Cumæ, a pupil of Antipater of Tarsus, and bosom-friend of Ti. Gracchus, was brought up before P. Popillius Lænas and P. Rupilius, the consuls for the year B.C. 132, to be examined as to his share in the plans of Gracchus, but took refuge in the court of Aristonicus, who was then laying claim to the crown of Pergamus. After Aristonicus's defeat by the Romans, Blossius committed suicide.—*Etiamne, si*, "What? even if," &c.—*quos novit vita communis*, "who come before us in our every-day life."—*Q. Æmilius Papus* was consul B.C. 282, and B.C. 278, and censor B.C. 275, always with C. Fabricius Luscinus for a colleague. In his first consulship he defeated the Boii, and in his second aided Fabricius to hold Pyrrhus in check.—*impetraturum non. Non* is emphatic from its position.—*C. Papirius Carbo*, a friend of Ti. Gracchus, though far inferior in moral qualities, was suspected of poisoning the younger Africanus for his opposition to the agrarian law of Gracchus. Though possessed of great rhetorical powers, he had no principle, as he showed by deserting to the aristocratical party, when he thought such conduct would promote his interests. However, he was ultimately accused by one of the party he had lately joined, and seeing his condemnation determined on, poisoned himself with a dose of cantharides.—*C. Porcius Cato*, younger son of Cato Licinianus, and grandson of Cato the censor, was a follower of Ti. Gracchus when young. He was consul in B.C. 114, but reflected little credit otherwise on his family.—*et minime tunc quidem Caius frater*.—Caius Gracchus refrained from public affairs for some time after his brother's death, and was said to have expressed decided disapprobation of his schemes. Somm. remarks that as the conduct of Caius is set in *contrast* to that of Carbo and Cato, the conjunction which introduces Caius is not a breach of the rule that when three or more persons are introduced doing the same thing, a conjunction ought to appear between each person, or be altogether omitted. See Arnold's Latin Prose Comp. part i. § 394.—*nunc idem acerrimus*, "though now on the other hand," &c. This is supposed to be spoken B.C. 129, when Caius Gracchus had not entered on his anti-patrician career. Hence Cicero seems to have fallen into a slight anachronism.

XII. The rule laid down in the last chapter is illustrated in its application to the common weal by the cases of Tiberius Gracchus, Themistocles, and Coriolanus.

Eo loco, "in such a position:"—*spatium* is the whole ground of the race-course; *curriculum* the part where the running takes place.—*vel*, "or rather." Being derived from *velle*, its primitive meaning="or if you will."—*in P. Scipione*, "in the case of P. Scipio." See note on *mortem Africani* in ch. ii.—*C. Gracchi tribunatu*. This was B.C. 122, and therefore seven years after the time when this dialogue is supposed to take place, a period when he possibly did not contemplate the tribuneship.—*Serpit deinde res*. "Hæc enim *Serpit deinde res* indicant Lælium interpositis exemplis inde a *Ti. Gracchus regnum* usque ad

augurari, redire nunc ad illud *Deflexit enim jam aliquantulum.*" Gern. The allusion is to the ballot, of which he speaks directly afterwards. —*cœpit*, i.e., *labi*.—*tabella*, "the ballot." The *lex Gabinia* brought forward by the tribune Gabinius B.C. 139, substituted the ballot in the election of magistrates for the open method of voting before practised. The *lex Cassia*, introduced two years later, extended the use of the ballot to all trials before the body of the people, except cases of *Perduellio*. See Smith's Dict. of Ant.—*sociis*, "partisans." —*viginti annis*, Coriolanus was said to have been banished from Rome B.C. 490, and Themistocles was ostracised from Athens B C. 471.

XIII. That we should help our friends in every possible way, without waiting to be asked; that we should give our advice and reprove, when necessary, and throw our whole souls into our friendships, inasmuch as men differ from stocks and stones, not so far forth as they cultivate apathy, but so far forth as they exercise and enlarge their affections.

Dum, "till."—*fugiendas esse nimias amicitias.* Gernhard quotes Eur. Hippol. 253, seq., which no doubt Cicero had in his mind.

χρῆν γὰρ μετρίας εἰς ἀλλήλους
φιλίας θνατοὺς ἀνακίρνασθαι,
καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἄκρον μυελὸν ψυχᾶς,
εὔλυτα δ' εἶναι στέργηθρα φρενῶν,
ἀπό τ' ὤσασθαι καὶ ξυντεῖναι.
τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ δισσῶν μίαν ὠδίνειν
ψυχὰν χαλεπὸν βάρος, ὡς κἀγὼ
τῆσδ' ὑπεραλγῶ.

securitatem, "freedom from anxiety."—*quem locum*, "which view."—*paullo ante*. See ch. viii.—*consentaneum*, "becoming; right."—*Quod* = lit. *as to which*.—*res sibi contrarias*, "things opposed in nature to herself."—*necesse est*, like *oportet*, often has *ut* understood after it, and is then followed by the subjunctive.— *Quid enim interest, motu animi sublato*, &c. Compare the whole of this passage with the poem of Tennyson, in which he says he envies not

The heart that never plighted troth,
But stagnates in the weeds of sloth,
Nor any want-begotten rest.

I hold it true whate'er befall;
I feel it when I sorrow most:
'Tis better to have loved and lost
Than never to have loved at all.

tractabilis, "open to the touch of sympathy."—*diffundantur*, "expand with joy." The subject of *diffundantur* and *contrahantur* must be *homines* understood.

XIV. That the admiration of virtue, not the prospect of advantage is the cause of friendship, but that friendship immediately seeks the advantage of the person to whom it is attracted, and hence advantage is the result, not the producer of friendship.

Contrahat has for its subject *significatio virtutis*, in the next clause.—*significatio*, "indication."– *ædificio* is the most extensive word for *buildings*, including all kinds.—*honore*. See note on *honoris* in ch. x.—*studiorum officiorumque.* The latter of these is the result of the former. —*necessariam* = *necessariam esse*. *Esse*, as Sommerb. remarks, is omitted

sometimes when it is the simple copula, but never when it is a verb of existence.—*qui*, though depending on *benevolentiam*, is, as usually, attracted to agree in gender with the substantive in the predicate.—*immunis*, "not giving anything, inactive, unobliging." Somm. quotes St. Paul, 1 Cor. xiii. 4, "Charity suffereth long, and is kind."—*quæ*, "inasmuch as she."—*fingunt*, "feign."—*haud sciam, an ne opus sit quidem*, &c., "I should rather think it is not even necessary that nothing," &c. That is, "I should rather think it is necessary that something," &c.

XV. That friendship is far superior to all the gifts of fortune, because it alone is a permanent possession.

Ratione, "theory."—*ut*, "on condition that."—*Coluntur*, i.e., *tyranni.* —*Tarquinium*, i. e., Tarquinius Superbus.—*miror si*, "I wonder *that*," like θαυμάζω εἰ in Greek.—*fastidium* refers to the physical effect, analogous to loathing, produced by pride in the person who yields to it; *contumacia* is the haughty, overbearing conduct resulting from it.—*amicos non parare*, "and yet not to acquire."—*sua cuique*, "to each man as his own."—*hæc hactenus*, i. e., "I have said enough on this subject."

XVI. As to the limits of friendship, the opinions (1) that we act towards our friends as we should act in our own case; (2) that our sacrifices for our friends exactly balance their sacrifices for us; and (3) that we estimate a friend at the value he puts on himself, are all to be rejected as inadequate, and falling short of the requirements of true friendship.

Constituendi sunt . . . qui sint . . . fines, &c., is a mixture of the two constructions, *Constituendum est . . . qui sint fines*, &c., and *Constituendi sunt fines*, &c.—*ferri*, "to be proposed.'—*pariter æqualiterque.* The former of these two words refers to quantity, and the latter to quality. Somm. See also the note on pares and æquales in ch. ix.—*prorsus* = *proversus* qualifies *nulli.*—*sit animatus* agrees with *quisque* supplied from the previous clause.—*amicorum* i. e., *causâ.*—*tum*, "moreover." It is often so used at the conclusion of a catalogue or enumeration.—*exigue et exiliter*, "minutely and meanly."—*ad calculos vocare*, "to make a matter of mere calculation."—*ut par sit ratio*, &c., "so as to strike a balance between the debtor and creditor accounts."—*excidat . . . defluat.* "*Excidunt* res de manibus improviso, cum tenere velles: *defluunt* præ abundantia quæ continere non possis, ut hoc loco, aut præ languore ac mollitie." Gern.—*plus æquo* qualifies *quid*, and is therefore put between *ne* and *quid.*—*finis*, "limitation."—*ita amare oportere*, "that a man ought to love in such a manner," a subject being required for the succeeding verb *esset osurus.*—*Bias* of Priene, one of the Seven Sages, flourished about the middle of the sixth century before our era, and was the author of the maxim alluded to by Cicero, δεῖ φιλεῖν ὡς μισήσοντα. To this, as Gernhard remarks, Aristotle gives the right corrective: οὐ δεῖ, ὥσπερ φασί, φιλεῖν ὡς μισήσοντα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μισεῖν ὡς φιλήσοντα. Rhet. ii. 21.—*cupere* refers to the impulsive action of the feelings; *optare* to the calm conclusions of the reason.—*sibi* refers not to the subject of *det*, but to that of *cupere.*—*ad reprehendendum*, "to have a hold on him." So Pl. Mil. I. i. 59. "Pallio me reprehenderunt."—*angi, dolere, invidere.* Sommerbrodt remarks that each of these three words is longer than the preceding one by a syllable, as if to exhibit the increase of the corresponding feeling. So he quotes from ch. xxiv. *velit, anquirat, desideret;* and in ch. xxi. *jurgia, maledicta, contumeliæ.* —*quando* = *aliquando* after *ne.*

XVII. That no limits should be set to our friendship, but that, if only we have chosen our friends rightly, there should be a perfect community of all things established between us and them. Hence the importance of choosing steadfast and consistent men for our friends.

Caput agatur, "there is a question about *capitis deminutio,* or the loss of civil rights. The *maxima capitis deminutio* involved the loss of *libertas, civitas* and *familia,* and the phrase *caput agitur* was used not only when life, but also when these were in jeopardy. So that, as Ernesti says, "quoties formula hujusmodi apud Latinos occurrit, semper de quibus hominibus, de quibusque causis sermo sit videndum, et quibus ex legibus causa agatur, iisque quæ pœnæ propo-itæ fuerint. Nam ita demum capitis quæ sit vis intelligi poterit."—*modo ne = dummodo ne.*—*est enim quatenus,* &c. Gernhard quotes the saying of Pericles: Δεῖ με συμπράττειν τοῖς φίλοις, ἀλλὰ μέχρι θεῶν.—*fama,* "a good reputation."—*blanditiis et assentando,* "by complaisance and unwillingness to contradict."—*cujus omnis sermo erat de,* "who was always talking about" &c.—*sustinere impetum,* "to check the outgoings of his," &c.—*quo* is here used for *ut* or *ut eo,* without being followed by a comparative. So Sall. Jug. 33.—"neque quo pericula aliis faceremus."—*periclitatis,* like many deponent perfect participles, is used in a passive sense.—*in parva pecunia,* "in a matter involving a small sum of money."—*imperia,* "the exercise of the *imperium;*" *potestates,* "the exercise of power in general."—*multo . . . malint,* "much prefer." —*quam* is governed by *consecuti sunt,* not by the supine *obscuratum,* which has for its object some such phrase as "turpem consequendæ potentiæ rationem," or "neglectam amicitiam," from the previous sentence. Gernhard quotes Cic. Verr. iii. 57, 131. "Quod magnitudo lucri obscuraret periculi magnitudinem." *Obscuratum,* being the active supine after the verb of motion *iri,* of course governs an accusative. See Key's Grammar § 1262.

XVIII. The foundation-stone of friendship is sincerity.

Utraque in re, i. e., "in his own prosperity and his friend's adversity."—*communem,* "affable."—*consentientem,* "with a sympathy of tastes."—*quem eundem,* "whom also."—*fictum . . . simulatum. Simulare,* "to make like" (from *similis*), differs from *fingere,* "to invent," or "feign" in more strongly expressing the intention to deceive.—*fronte occultare.* So the Romans, looking on the face as an index to the mind, used the phrases *frontem contrahere, explicare, solvere.*—*Accedat* is governed by *ut* understood after *oportet.*—*habet illa quidem,* "has indeed." For this emphasising use of *ille quidem* see in the next chapter, "Novitates autem . . . non sunt illæ quidem repudiandæ."—*comitas,* "kindliness," is a moral virtue, *facilitas,* "sociability," a social one.

XIX. New friendships are not to be preferred to old, any more than new wine or new horses are to be preferred to old wine and tried horses. The importance, in cases of friendship, of the superior's being willing to place himself on a level with the inferior.

Num quando = num aliquando.—*veterrima quæque,* "Everything that is old." We might have expected *veterrimæ* to agree with *amicitiæ.*—*quæ vetustatem ferunt,* "which can stand keeping."—*Novitates,* "what is new;" here, especially, "new friendships." So we use the term "novelties" for "new things."—*non fallacibus,* "that do not cheat the farmer's hopes." Sommerbodt quotes Hor. Od. III. i. 30, "Fundusque mendax."—*in ipso equo,* "in the case of," &c. So *in hoc* in the next

sentence.—*montuosis etiam et silvestribus.* Such places Cicero seems to think no one could possibly admire for their own sakes, the taste for mountain scenery having been as little developed in his time as in Horace Walpole's, who does not scruple to load the passes of the Alps with every abusive epithet.—*parem,* "on a level with."—*Mummio. Sp. Mummius* was the brother of the better known *L. Mummius, the conqueror of Corinth.*—*Q. Fabius Maximus Æmilianus,* the oldest son of L. Paullus Æmilius Macedonicus, and therefore the brother of Scipio Æmilianus, had been adopted by Q. Fabius Maximus.—*omnino,* "certainly." It is in this sense generally followed by *sed tamen.*—*colebat,* "treated with respect."—*in fabulis,* "in myths."—*stirpis et generis,* "of their origin" (e. g. that of the Æacidæ) "and descent" (e.g., noble, royal, or divine), Somm.—*retinent caritatem in pastores,* &c. For an instance see the case of Romulus and Remus. So Tennyson speaks of similar love for earliest associations in one who has risen to high place and power:—

> Yet feels, as in a pensive dream,
> When all his active powers are still,
> A distant dearness in the hill,
> A secret sweetness in the stream.
>
> The limits of his narrower fate,
> While yet beside its vocal springs
> He played at counsellors and kings
> With one that was his earliest mate;
>
> Who ploughs with pain his native lea,
> And reaps the labour of his hands,
> Or in the furrow musing stands,
> "Doth my old friend remember me?"

XX. It is equally important that the inferior of two friends should bear with equanimity the rise of the superior, and that the superior should help the inferior to rise, as far as he can bring about such an event, and his friend's capacities will allow him.

Conjunctio, as opposed to *amicitia,* is "any other connection," such as that of relationship.—*dolere* depends on *debent* understood.—*officia exprobrantium,* "throwing the kindnesses they have done you in your teeth."—*quæ meminisse debet is qui,* &c. So Goldsmith in his "Citizen of the World," Letter 65, says: "Exacting a grateful acknowledgment is demanding a debt by which the creditor is not advantaged, and which the debtor pays with reluctance."—*Submittere se,* "to bring themselves down to a level with," &c.—*Sunt quidam,* being more definite than *sunt qui,* is followed by the indicative.—*non enim neque tu possis . . . perducere,* as Somm. says, would naturally be followed by some such sentence as *neque alter quidvis possit sustinere;* but, owing to the familiarity of the dialogue and the loose structure of the sentence, this is lost sight of.—*quamvis licet,* "however much you please; no matter how much."—*eos habere* depends on *judicandum est* understood in *judicandi sunt.*—*mores* is the subject, and *studia* is the object of *sequuntur.* "Different dispositions result from different tastes."—*Neoptolemus,* or Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, was needed at the siege of Troy, as, according to the legend (*fabula*), it could not be taken without him. *Lycomedes,* king of Scyros, was the grandfather of

Neoptolemus, and was unwilling to let him go to Troy.—*quas qui impedire vult*, &c. Lovelace has the same thought in the well-known lines to Lucasta:—

Yet this inconstancy is such
As you too shall adore:
I could not love thee, dear, so much,
Loved I not honour more.

justus is not "just," but "proper;" "such as a friend by rights (*jure*) ought to be."

XXI. The rules laid down hitherto have concerned only the friendships of the wise. Now to descend to friendships of a lower kind. Such connections must occasionally be dissolved, but they should always be so dissolved that the memory of old times may be preserved, and no bitter feeling be entertained or open enmity exhibited.

Remissione usus, "the giving up of familiar intercourse."—*in rei publicæ partibus intercesserit*, "shall have arisen in the heat of political parties."—*Q. Pompeius, A. F.* was consul with Cn. Servilius Cæpio, B.C. 141. He gained his consulship against Lælius by pretending that he was not going to stand, and so throwing Lælius off his guard. For this cause Scipio abjured his acquaintance.—*meo nomine*, "for my sake."—*Q. Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus* received his surname of Macedonicus from his defeating Andriscus, the pseudo-son of Perseus, B.C. 146. He was a strong, though not bitter, political opponent of Scipio Africanus Minor.—*exstinctæ . . . quam oppressæ*, "to have died out than to have been put out."—*jurgia* are merely "word quarrels;" *maledicta*, "bad language;" *contumeliæ*, absolute "insults."—*per se et propter se*, "in itself and for itself;" in itself, because it is itself noble and good, and therefore worthy of admiration; and for itself, because it is sought without any eye to ulterior advantage.—*alter idem*, "another self."—*bestiis* is the generic name; *feris*, "wild," is opposed to *cicuribus*, "tame;" while *agrestibus*, "dwelling on the land," is opposed to *volucribus* and *nantibus*.

XXII. Since many demand from those whom they call their friends, what they would never themselves do for them, and wish for companions in vice rather than assistants in attaining virtue, we should very carefully weigh men's characters before we bestow our affections upon them.

Inter se="one another," there being no reciprocal pronoun in Latin.—*colent* refers to the outward demonstration, *diligent* to the inward feeling.—*verebuntur*. So Patmore:—

"Keep your undrest familiar style
For strangers, but respect your friend:
* * * *
'Tis found, and needs it must so be,
That life from love's allegiance flags,
When love forgets his majesty
In sloth's unceremonious rags."

quos inter=*inter quos*. This position has a tendency to occur in prose with relatives, as may be seen in the words *quoad*, *quamobrem*.—*cum judicaveris diligere*, &c. So Theophrastus, as quoted by Gernhard, οὐ φιλοῦντα δεῖ κρίνειν, ἀλλὰ κρίναντα φιλεῖν.—*præposteris utimur consiliis* is equivalent to our English expression, "to put the cart before the

horse," or "to begin at the wrong end." So *acta agimus*="we set to work (to judge) too late."—*ultro citroque*, "hither and thither;" "in this direction and that direction," according to their connection with the old positives *ulter* and *citer*.—*officiis*, "kind offices."

XXIII. As friendship is generally allowed to be the most necessary and the most delightful of all earthly things, it is well worth all this trouble.

Quo, "for which cause."—*ad rem publicam*, "to politics."—*suum negotium gerunt otiosi*, "merely carry on their own business (*nec-otium*), without occupying themselves in any other business (*otiosi*)."—*Timon* of Athens lived about the time of the Peloponnesian war. The ingratitude of those whom he thought his friends led him to retire into solitude, to which he admitted no one except Alcibiades. See Shakespeare's sad-hearted play on the subject.—*judicaretur*, "would be seen; put beyond the reach of doubt." The sentiment here expressed is put by De Foe into the mouth of Robinson Crusoe, and by Cowper into that of Alexander Selkirk:

> "Better dwell in the midst of alarms,
> Than reign in this horrible place."

XXIV. Since the intercourse of friends is varied in its nature, causes of offence must arise; but they should be made light of, or borne as well as may be. But we should never be offended at advice or rebuke from a friend; nor should we ever give advice with asperity, or administer reproof in offensive language.

Usus, "intercourse."—*dantur* is here used reflectively, and = *se dant*, "present themselves."—*sublevanda*, "to be lifted up from beneath," and hence here to be "removed."—*nam*, as Sommerbrodt says, after *illa*, like γὰρ after τάδε, introducing the explanation of that which is referred to by *illa*, should either be not translated at all, or should be translated by the word "namely."—*Andria*, "The Andrian Woman," was the first play exhibited by Terence, B.C. 166. The line quoted by Cicero is to be found in Andria, I. i. 41.—*familiaris meus*. P. Terentius Afer was born B.C. 195, and was therefore nine years older than Lælius. See notes on Cato i. His intimacy with Lælius and Scipio is well known.—*ratio*, "management, care."—*non modo* = *non modo non*, as is often the case when *ne—quidem* follows, if both clauses have a common predicate to which the negative belongs, and the predicate stands in the last clause, since the negative in *ne—quidem* is then reflected back on to the previous clause. See Key's Grammar, § 1415, and the examples there given.—*ut multa*, "as many of his sayings are." *quod*, literally, "as to which," and is equivalent to "whereas" or "now." So, "Aut omnia deus fecit, quod negatis; aut omnia natura. Quod quoniam istud negatis, hoc necessario confitendum est." See also Cato xxiii. 85. "Quod contra decuit ab illo meum."

XXV. Flattery and subserviency are utterly incompatible with friendship.

Adulatio is the generic term for the flattery which lowers the person who offers it; *blanditia* is the flattery which says what is intended to please, and *assentatio*, that which seeks to please by not contradicting, like the flattery of Polonius in Hamlet.—*quamvis multis*, "as many as possible."—*id*, "that," i. e. "the truth.' If the object of *adulterat* were the same as that of *tollit*, Cicero would have written *adulteratque*,

not *idque adulterat.—varius*, as Somm. remarks, answers to *unus*, *commutabilis* to *idem*, and *multiplex* to both.—*Negat quis, &c.* These are the words of the parasite Gnatho in Terence's play of the Eunuchus, ii. 2, 21.—*loco*, "origin."—*vanitatem*, "empty flattery."—*auctoritas*, "good position in life."—*popularem.* The explanation of this word which is added is of course an unfair one, being taken from Cicero's point of view.—*legem de tribunis reficiendis.* This was a law proposed by Papirius, B.C. 131, to enable the same tribunes to be re-elected any number of times.—*dissuasimus*, "we opposed it."—*in manibus*, "still extant."—*Q. Fabius Maximus Æmilianus* and *L. Hostilius Mancinus* were consuls B.C. 145.—*C. Licinius Crassus*, said to be the first man who turned towards the people (*in forum versus*) instead of towards the *curia* in speaking, when tribune of the people, B.C. 145, brought in a bill to prevent the college of priests from filling up their own vacancies, and to fill them up by popular election.—*transferebatur*, "was, according to his bill, to be transferred;" the past-imperfect tense referring to the attempt on his part, not to ultimate success.—*prætore me.* Lælius was prætor B.C. 145, and consul B.C. 140.

XXVI. That companionship which is maintained by flattery on the one hand, and by the love of being flattered on the other, is not worthy of the name of friendship. Hence the necessity of guarding against flattery, in whatever garb it may approach us.

In scena, id est, in contione. The more natural order would be, *in contione, id est, in scena.* But the transposition is not unfrequent, especially in conversational language.—*tota*, "entirely."—*omnino*, "to be sure."—*laudum*, "deserts."—*milites gloriosi*, "braggart soldiers." The immediate reference is not to the *miles gloriosus* of Plautus but to Thraso, a soldier of similar character, in Terence's Eunuchus, from which (III. i. 1, 2) the passage immediately following is quoted.—*det manus*, "gives in."—*plus vidisse*, "to have seen deeper into the argument."—*in Epiclero.* The Epiclerus, from which the lines just following are quoted, was a comedy of Cæcilius Statius's, founded on the Ἐπίκληρος of Menander.—*comicos stultos senes.* See the notes on Cato, ch. xi.—*versaris.* So we say to "turn a person round one's finger," almost in the sense of "cheating."—*in hominem cadere*, "to fall within the reach of man." See ch. v.—*ad illa prima*, i. e., the friendship of the good." See ch. v. 18.

XXVII. To return to perfect and lasting friendship—it can exist only between the wise and good. Virtue is the corner-stone of true friendship. On this principle had Lælius chosen all his friends: on this principle especially had he built up his love for Scipio: and on this principle it may be seen why, with the sole exception of virtue, friendship is the highest of all earthly goods.

Convenientia rerum, "harmony with nature." The Greek word to which Cicero intends *convenientia* to correspond is συμπάθεια (Div. ii. 60, 124), or ὁμολογία (Fin. iii. 6, 21).—*idem*, i. e., *lumen.*—*Utrumque*, "both words."—*diligere*, it must be remembered, according to its etymology, is "to love from choice."—*utilitate*, "self-advantage"—*Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*, the father of the well-known tribunes of the people, Tiberius and Caius, by Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio Africanus Major, had a daughter Sempronia, who married Scipio Africanus Minor.—*P. Rutilius Rufus*, consul B.C. 105, is spoken of as a jurisconsult in Cic. Brutus, 22 and 29. He served under Scipio

in the Numantine war. *A. Virginius* is known only from this passage. —*alia ætas,* "another generation," or, perhaps, "a generation different from our own." The reading *alia ex alia* of course introduces a different sense altogether.—*carceribus . . . ad calcem.* See notes on Cato ch. 23.—*quod senserim,* "as far as," &c.—*recordatio* is the bringing back to mind what had escaped it; *memoria* the retaining in the mind what has not escaped it.—*ætas,* i.e., "my age."—*ita virtutem locetis,* "place virtue so high in your regard."

NOTES ON THE BRUTUS.

The *Brutus*, or Dialogue on Famous Orators, was written in the early part of the year B.C. 46, while the issue of the campaign in Africa between Cæsar and the remnant of the Pompeian party was still being expected by Cicero with considerable anxiety, though with little hope that the republic would be able to resume its independence, and he himself, or his friends, find a career of political distinction once more open to them. Hence, to distract his mind from gloomy thoughts, he devoted his whole energies to study, and poured forth in quick succession one treatise after another on philosophy and rhetoric.

The *Brutus* was suggested, as Cicero informs us, by his friend Atticus's chronological *résumé* of the history of Rome. With this as his guide, he determined to give a chronological sketch of the progress of Roman oratory from the earliest period for which materials might be within reach, to his own time. The treatise that resulted from this determination assumed the form of a dialogue between himself, his old and tried friend Atticus, and his younger and less intimate friend Brutus, afterwards one of the chief conspirators against Cæsar. The meeting is supposed to take place in Cicero's garden at Rome. There he is musing on the evil of the times, and the death of the great orator Hortensius, when he is called upon by Atticus and Brutus, who urge him, as a means of escape from thoughts about the present, to fulfil an old promise he had made, to give them a sketch of the orators of past times. With this request Cicero promises to comply; and, after premising that in Greece, as in Rome, eloquence sprung up long after the rest of the fine arts, proceeds to give a rapid view of Grecian oratory from the time of Pisistratus to the period when it was transplanted into Asia, and there rapidly degenerated into wordiness and bombast. Then, turning to his own countrymen, and running over the names of some of those who, in earlier times, must, from their position and achievements, have necessarily possessed the power of influencing others by their eloquence, he states that Cato the Censor is the first man whose writings are still extant in sufficient quantity to enable men to judge fairly of his merits, and that he is indeed worthy of all praise and study, though deficient in some of the graces of style which had not then been introduced into prose composition. Then C. Flaminius, Q. Maximus, the elder Africanus, and his son, among the older, and Q. Metellus, C. Lælius, and the younger Africanus, and, beyond all the rest, Ser. Galba, among the younger of Cato's contemporaries, are quoted as distinguished speakers. The mention of Galba prompts Brutus to ask why it is that Galba's extant orations are so tame. This remark leads to a dissertation on the various reasons why the writings of many orators are not equal to their fame; and it is

decided, in Galba's case, that, as he spoke rather from impulse than from premeditation and study, the passions which stirred him to speak with fire and energy at the moment of excitement, could not be readily rekindled into equal force in the quiet of his study when the matter that had moved him had long been decided.

The next period is marked by the names, among many others, of C. Carbo, C. Curio, and Ti. and C. Gracchus. But M. Antonius and L. Crassus were the first who in copiousness of expression could be said to rival the glory of the Greeks. Accordingly these two speakers are minutely depicted, and their distinctive characteristics well brought out. Then a comparison is instituted between Crassus, as the most learned lawyer among the orators, and Q. Scævola, as the greatest orator among the lawyers, in order to enable Cicero to make Brutus panegyrise him by saying that a similar relation seemed to exist between Cicero and the lawyer Ser. Sulpicius. Next to Crassus and Antonius, but after a long interval, are placed L. Philippus and C. Julius Strabo. A little later again than these came a number of good speakers, of whom C. Cotta and P. Sulpicius were, said Cicero, both in his opinion and in that of the general public, by far the best. On this, Atticus asks why he is so careful to add that he and the public coincided in their judgments on the merits of Cotta and Sulpicius. Is not the wise man's opinion often different from, and always worth more than, the opinion of the vulgar in such a matter? "No," Cicero replies, "it is not worth more. As the aim of oratory is to influence the public, the wise man cannot be a better judge of what has that effect than the public itself, though he will undoubtedly have an advantage in being able to tell how such and such effects are produced, why one orator is superior to another, and why one succeeds and the other fails either partially or entirely."

Then, as C. Curio was considered by some persons to range next in order to Cotta and Sulpicius, Cicero points out that the one thing that made him popular, in spite of his many oratorical deficiencies, was the pure stream of Latinity which he had derived from home sources; and hence he derives the importance of maintaining purity of language in the family circle, and illustrates his position by examples.

Thus Cicero is brought down to Hortensius, who, having been his own cotemporary and rival, would fittingly close the list of those of whom Cicero proposed to speak. Here, however, Brutus entreats Cicero not to conclude without stating the course of study by which he had arrived at his own consummate eloquence. Cicero promises to comply with this request, after he has detailed the names of the speakers who were coeval with Hortensius; but, before proceeding to do so, makes Brutus give such an eulogium on the living orator M. Marcellus, as to reflect still more praise on Cicero, and then leads Atticus with equal skill to dwell on the pure Latinity and felicitous ease and rare erudition of Cæsar, in order thereby to heighten to the utmost the strong encomium passed by Cæsar upon Cicero, as having deserved well of the Roman state for having been the chief pattern and inventor of that rich and flowing eloquence which characterised all his writings.

After this digression Cicero returns to the cotemporaries of Hortensius, among whom he gives the chief place to his own son-in-law, C. Piso, M. Cælius, M. Calidius, C. Curio, and C. Licinius Calvus.

The mention of Calvus enables Cicero to make a strong protest against the folly of the practice, introduced by Calvus, of aiming at a lifeless concinnity and euphuistic purism of style, under the notion of its being specially Attic and refined, whereas it missed the grand characteristic of true Attic oratory—the approbation of the public.

Cicero now proposes to return to Hortensius himself, when Atticus reproaches him, with all the freedom of an old friend, for having overcrowded his canvas with too many figures, and having made too free a use of irony in professing such extravagant admiration for the productions of many of the old orators. Cicero declares himself to be guiltless on both charges, and professes his willingness to enter on his justification at a fitter time and in another place. He then depicts Hortensius's career and his own at length, together with the relations in which they stood to each other. He describes the course of study that he pursued, in order to overcome his natural defects, and strengthen his constitution, and heighten his oratorical powers to the utmost. He explains that Hortensius was less valued as an orator in his old age than in his youth, partly because he really fell off from not taking as much pains as he used to take, and partly because the Asiatic redundancy and efflorescence of the style that he affected did not suit the dignity of age as well as it fell in with the exuberance of youth. He then pronounces Hortensius happy in having died just before the extinction of free political discussion; laments over the troubles impending over the commonwealth, and regrets that the rising genius of Brutus is not likely to have any opportunity of opening itself out, and rising into public view. Here the work closes abruptly; the concluding sentences being lost through the mutilation of the manuscript from which all the existing copies are derived.

One of the objects for which Cicero wrote the Brutus was of course to move nearer towards the completion of the cycle of his works on oratory, by giving the historical view of the subject. But any one who will take the pains to examine the nature of the digressions in this work, bearing in mind the nature of the attacks made upon Cicero's style of eloquence, both in his own time and after his death, will easily perceive that he is endeavouring throughout the dialogue to show the falsity of the charges brought against him, and to fix his own rightful position as a follower of the school of Demosthenes.

Hence, if Cicero was aware that Brutus had called him "fractum atque elumbem" (Tacit. Or. xviii.), and that Calvus pronounced him to be "solutum et enervem," and that the school of which Calvus was the favourite declared him to have followed the redundancy and tumid repetition of the Asiatic orators rather than the closely packed conciseness of those of Attica, we can understand why Cicero should, on the one hand, particularly have addressed himself to Brutus, while taking great pains to point out the error into which Calvus had fallen in thinking that a bloodless and lifeless formality could possibly be Demosthenic; and, on the other hand, why he pointed out that Hortensius and not he was the imitator of the Asiatics, while he, on the contrary, had endeavoured, whether successfully or not, to combine the force of Demosthenes, the copiousness of Plato, and the grace of Isocrates, with the nerve and pith and raciness of the older Roman writers and speakers. And to fortify himself in the position he has thus assumed, he makes Brutus and Atticus give utterance respectively

to the sentiments entertained about him by Hortensius and Cæsar (see chaps. 51 and 72).

Perhaps Cicero wished not only to set himself right in the opinion of Brutus and others, but also to induce Brutus, for whom he undoubtedly had considerable regard, to desert the ranks of the effete school to which he had a leaning, and give fair play to his talents by adopting that vigorous and effective style of oratory which he was at present inclined to blame Cicero for following. At any rate this will supply the best excuse for his constant reference to himself, and the best reason for his earnest appeals to Brutus on the subject, both in this treatise and in the *Orator*.

With respect to the objection brought forward by Atticus, that Cicero had injured the artistic effect of his treatise by the number of second and third-rate persons that he had crowded into it, there is no doubt that it is well founded. Had he confined himself to those who were really distinguished, and given an accurate and life-like portrait of each of them, he would have produced a more taking work. But he was probably prompted by his patriotic feelings to show that Rome as well as Greece could show a long roll of illustrious names, and point to a long series of works well worthy to be read. As it is, however, we have a very complete piece of literary history, bearing internal proofs of great labour and impartiality, and interspersed with general rules of art, criticisms on individuals, and modes of speaking, and disquisitions on subsidiary matters, of very considerable interest.

I. Eulogium on Hortensius, who had recently died.

E Cilicia decedens. This was in the year B.C. 50, when Cicero's proconsulship of Cilicia was over, and he was returning thence towards Rome.—*Q. Hortensius* was born B.C. 114, and was therefore eight years older than Cicero; he was retained by Verres to defend him against Cicero, B.C. 70, was consul B.C. 69, and died B.C. 50. Though Cicero was jealous of him through life, it does not follow that he was not sincerely shocked at the news of his death. See Ep. ad Att. vi. 6. "De Hortensio te certo scio dolere: equidem excrucior."—*cooptatum.* Cicero had been chosen by the influence of Hortensius and Pompey into the place, in the college of augurs, vacated by the death of Crassus, B.C. 53. Cooptation, or the filling up of vacancies by the surviving members of the college, was practised, till the *lex Domitia*, carried, B.C. 104, by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, gave the right of electing one out of three proposed candidates to the people.—*suo magis . . . tempore,* "at a time more fortunate for him than, &c.

II. Regret that, in the present state of public affairs, there is no scope for the free exercise of oratory. The only consolation left is to think over the illustrious orators of past times, as Cicero was enabled to do in a late conversation with Atticus and Brutus.

Non egere, "manifests no desire for."—*errore hominum,* that is, of the Pompeian or aristocratic party.—*canesceret.* Jahn quotes Quint. xi. 1, 31: "neque tam plenum (orationis genus) et erectum et audax et præcultum senibus convenerit, quam pressum et mite et limatum, et quale intelligi vult Cicero, cum dicit orationem suam cœpisse canescere."—*jucunda sane=jucundissima.*

III. Cicero thanks Atticus and Brutus for their letters, and declares that Atticus's present of a work he lately published and sent him saved him from utter despondency.

Xysto. The *xystus* was a flat piece of ground (ξύω) in front of the *porticus*, and was divided into a number of flower-beds of different shapes.—*M. Junius Brutus*, born B.C. 85, became a partisan of Pompey, in spite of his previous personal differences with him; but after the battle of Pharsalia obtained Cæsar's pardon and favour. After serving him for some time, he was worked on by Cassius to join in his assassination, and finally fell by his own hand after the battle of Philippi, B.C. 42. Cicero's friendship with him commenced with his writing a pamphlet to show that Milo deserved to be rewarded for killing Clodius. At the time that the present treatise was written, B.C. 46, Brutus was governing Cisalpine Gaul for Cæsar, and winning golden opinions, contrary to what might have been expected from his conduct at an earlier period, by his kindness and fair dealing.—*T. Pomponio.* See notes on Cato, ch. 1.—*M. Claudius Marcellus*, the conqueror of Syracuse as prætor B.C. 216, hearing that there was a party at Nola treating with Hannibal, threw himself into the city, and on Hannibal's approach made a sally, and repulsed the Carthaginians with some slight loss. This, being the first success gained by the Romans over Hannibal, was of course, as Cicero says, looked on with great delight as an augury of better things to come.—*sollicitudines meas.* Cicero was at this time extremely anxious to know whether Cæsar, in the event of his conquering his opponents, would punish him or take him into favour. On the other hand, if Cæsar should be killed, Cicero's prospects were still more gloomy, in consequence of his having deserted the Pompeians at their first ill success.—*illius libri.* The book in question was called *Annalis*, and consisted of a chronological summary of Roman history from the foundation of the city to his own time. It is thus described by Corn. Nep. Atticus, 18: "Moris majorum summus fuit imitator antiquitatisque amator, quam adeo diligenter habuit cognitam, ut eam totam in eo volumine exposuerit, quo magistratus ordinavit. Nulla enim lex, neque pax, neque bellum, neque res illustris est populi Romani, quæ non in eo, suo tempore, sit notata; et quod difficillimum fuit, sic familiarum originem subtexuit, ut ex eo clarorum virorum propagines possimus cognoscere."

IV. Cicero explains how it was that Atticus's book had such an effect, and promises, if he can, to repay him in kind.

Nova, i. e., *attulit.*—*illud Hesiodium.* The lines referred to are from the ἔργα καὶ ἡμ. 349.

> εὖ μὲν μετρεῖσθαι παρὰ γείτονος, εὖ δ' ἀποδοῦναι
> αὐτῷ τῷ μέτρῳ, καὶ λώϊον, αἴ κε δύνηαι.

veteris ubertatis is the objective genitive after *siti.*—*solis*, i. e., *nobis.*—*impendiis*, "with interest."—*procurator*, "agent."—*incommodo*=*incommode.*

V. Atticus says he shall register the promise, and exact it in due time; he then asks him to oblige them both by at once giving them in full the sketch of the famous orators of past times, which he had been led to talk over with Atticus from hearing the cause of Deiotarus pleaded by Brutus.

Amplius eo nomine. Cicero refuses to pay Atticus's claim on him to Brutus, unless Brutus can show that he has Atticus's sanction to act for him, for fear he should have to pay the debt twice over.—*repromittere*, "engage in my turn."—*ut . . . edidisti*, "ever since," &c.—

de republica libros. The treatise *De Republica* was written by Cicero in the year B.C. 54 (though perhaps retouched after that date), and was given to the world before, or just in the beginning of, B.C. 51. The chief speakers were the younger Africanus, C. Lælius Sapiens, Q. Mucius Scævola, L. Furius Philus, P. Rutilius Rufus, and others. See the the Læl. iv. and vii.—*ut possis*, i. e., "that you may stir yourself up to ability to do it."—*Deiotarus*, tetrarch of Galatia, aided Pompey against Cæsar at Pharsalia, and was deprived of his government in consequence, and fined by Cæsar. Brutus pleaded his cause before Cæsar at Nicæa but without success, B.C. 47. He was defended by Cicero two years later at Rome, when accused by his grandson Castor of intending to kill Cæsar when in Galatia.

VI. Cicero praises the eloquence of Brutus, names him as his successor, and consents to resume the subject.

Tua et natura admirabilis, &c. It has already been said that Cicero had not always so high an opinion of Brutus's parts as he now professes to have.—*te studioso* is abl. abs. For the way in which young men, anxious to launch out into politics, attached themselves to older men, and were aided by their favour and counsel: see the Lælius, ch. i. —*pratulo*, i. e., *xysto.*—*ex quinque rebus.* These five component parts of oratory are, according to Cicero, De Invent. i. 7, 9, as quoted by Jahn, "inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, pronuntiatio."

VII. The difficulty of becoming an orator. Oratory first appeared in Athens, though even there late. The orations of Pericles the earliest extant. His predecessors.

Athenæ tuæ. So Cicero calls it in addressing Atticus, because he so long resided there, and had such an affection for it; as may be seen by his surname.—*Pericles.* The date of this great Athenian's birth is unknown, but his political life reached from B.C. 469 to B.C. 429. The speeches to which Cicero refers as his were probably not genuine.—*Thucydides*, the historian of the Peloponnesian war, was probably born B.C. 471, and died after B.C. 404, the last year of the war.—*Pisistratus*, so long tyrant of Athens, was born about B.C. 612, and died B.C. 527.—*Solon*, the lawgiver of Athens, was born about B.C. 638, and legislated for his country B.C. 594.—*Clisthenes*, after the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, increased the democratic tendency of the Solonian constitution, B.C. 508.—*Themistocles*, the Athenian political leader, was born B.C. 514, and died B.C. 449.—*Cleon*, the Athenian demagogue, led the war-party in the Peloponnesian war during the years B.C 428—422, till he fell in an engagement with Brasidas before Amphipolis.—*Alcibiades* was born about B.C. 450 and died B.C. 404.—*Critias* was the chief of the thirty tyrants who swayed Athens B.C. 404.—*Theramenes*, also one of the thirty tyrants, was put to death by his colleagues for trying to restrain their violence. He had been an unprincipled trimmer all his life, and got punished for his trimming propensities on almost the only occasion on which they were moving him in a right direction.—*Grandes, &c.* This criticism of Cicero's on the speeches interwoven by Thucydides into his history is right enough; but it does not follow that the speakers, the substance of whose speeches, either real or possible, Thucydides reports, spoke at all in the same manner.

VIII. The Grecian orators continued. Special praise of Isocrates.

Facta, "formed."—*Gorgias*, of Leontini, in Sicily, the sophist, or teacher of rhetoric, was born a few years before B.C. 479, and lived to

be 105 or 109 years old.—*Thraysmachus* of Chalcedon, *Protagoras* of Abdera, *Prodicus* of Ceos, the author of the well-known allegory of the "Choice of Hercules," and *Hippias* of Elis, lived about the same time as Gorgias, and pursued the same avocation.—*causa inferior.* See Aristoph., Nubes 112, *seq.*

> εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς φασιν ἄμφω τὼ λόγω
> τον κρείττον', ὅστις ἐστί, καὶ τὸν ἥττονα.
> τούτοιν τὸν ἕτερον τοῖν λόγοιν, τὸν ἥττονα,
> νικᾶν λέγοντά φασι τ' ἀδικώτερα.

—*Isocrates*, the great Athenian teacher of oratory, was born B.C. 436, and killed himself in consequence of the destruction of Grecian liberty on the field of Chæroneia, B.C. 338 —*soluta oratione*, "prose."—*modum*, "proportion."—*numerum*, "rhythm."

IX. List of the Grecian orators continued.

Lysias, of Athens, was born B.C. 458, and died B.C. 378.—*Demosthenes*, the model of all orators, was born about B.C. 385, and poisoned himself B.C. 322.—*Hyperides* and *Lycurgus*, both of Athens, were born about B.C. 396.—*Æschines*, the great opponent of Demosthenes, was born B.C. 389, and died B.C. 314.—*Dinarchus*, was born at Corinth about B.C. 361, but spent most of his long life at Athens, writing speeches for others to deliver, and thereby acquiring great wealth.—*Demades*, the opponent of Demosthenes, and the paid tool of Philip, was put to death by Antipater B.C. 318. A large fragment of an oration still extant is attributed to him by Bekker. See Smith's Class. Dict.—*Demetrius* of Phaleros in Attica, as celebrated as a man of action as he was as an orator, was born about B.C. 345, and died about B.C. 282.—*Theophrastus* is said to have had as many as 2000 pupils. He was born about B.C. 374, and lived to a great age.—*Eupolis*, the celebrated comic poet, in a well known fragment on the eloquence of Pericles, who "thundered and lightened and confounded Greece," says of him:

> Πειθώ τις ἐπεκάθιζεν ἐπὶ τοῖς χείλεσιν
> οὕτως ἐκήλει, καὶ μόνος τῶν ῥητόρων
> τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλιπε τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις.

X. The recent origin of eloquence at both Athens and Rome. Themistocles and Coriolanus compared.

Servio Tullio. His reign is supposed to have extended from B.C. 578 to B.C. 534.—*Lycurgus*, the lawgiver, is here called *superior*, to distinguish him from Lycurgus the orator, mentioned in the preceding chapter. When the lawgiver Lycurgus lived is quite uncertain.—*Coriolanus.* The date of the legend of Coriolanus and of the Volscian war, in which he was a leader against his country, coincides with the year before B.C. 490, the date of the Volscian war. That the date, however, is wrong, Niebuhr has clearly proved. See note on the Lælius, ch. xi., and Smith's Dict. Art. Coriolanus.

XI. Atticus corrects Cicero as to the death of Themistocles. The eloquence of Pericles.

Clitarchus went to Asia with Alexander, and wrote a very poor history of his exploits there. *Stratocles* was probably the orator of that name, who was the constant opponent of Demosthenes; though nothing is known of his having written the history to which Cicero here alludes. —*quem Thucydides.* See i. 138.—*Anaxagoras*, born at Clazomenæ,

about B.C. 499, taught Pericles and Euripides, and others, at Athens, but was fined and banished thence, because his philosophical tenets were supposed to be incompatible with piety towards the gods.—*terrorem*, &c. So Aristoph. Acharn., 530, tells how

Περικλέης οὐλύμπιος
ἤστραπτεν, ἐβρόντα, ξυνεκύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

XII. The subject of Grecian oratory continued.

Aristotle, the great analyst and arranger of the knowledge of ancient times, was born at Stageira, B.C. 384, and died B.C. 322. The work to which reference is made is the τεχνῶν συναγωγή, a historical résumé of the labours of writers on rhetoric from the time of Corax and Tisias. —*Corax*, after the tyrant Thrasybulus was driven out of Syracuse, B.C. 467, was induced, in consequence of the confusion caused by the arbitrary acts of the tyrants, to write a work on the practice of rhetoric. *Tisias* was the pupil of Corax, and succeeded him in his school.—*Protagoras* of Abdera, was born about B.C. 480, and died B.C. 411. He was the first who called himself sophist, and taught for money.—*quæ*. *Qui*, attracted to agree with *loci*, would have been the more usual construction.—*Antiphon* of Rhamnus, in Attica, was born B.C. 480, and was condemned to death at the instance of his treacherous friend Theramenes, B.C. 411.—*Thucydides*, who was the pupil of Antiphon, mentions the singular excellence of the speech he made in his own defence, in his history, viii. 68.—*Theodorus* of Byzantium probably lived in the time of Plato, and wrote a book on rhetoric, to which Plato refers as subtle and minute.—*quasi committeret*, &c. "Sensus est: quasi quid fecisset per quod aliquis in judiciis circumveniretur." Ernesti. The allusion is to the Lex Sempronia Ne Quis Judicio Circumveniretur, proposed by C. Gracchus, B.C. 122, against conspiracy to procure judicial condemnation.—*in judicium*. As there is no trace of any such law in Athens as Cicero here alludes to, and by consequence no trace of Isocrates' having been brought to trial on such a charge, Ernesti proposes to read *invidiam* for *judicium*.

XIII. The same subject.

Epaminondas distinguished himself for his eloquence and address at Sparta, B.C. 371, on the question whether the envoys of Thebes should sign only for their own town, or for the whole of Bœotia.—*Asiatici .... Rhodii*. Jahn aptly quotes, Quint. xii. 10, 16. "Antiqua quidem illa divisio inter Atticos et Asianos fuit, cum hi pressi et integri, contra inflati illi et inanes haberentur; in his nihil superflueret, illis judicium maxime ac modus deesset. .... Tertium mox adjecerunt genus Rhodium; quod velut medium esse atque ex utroque mixtum volunt; neque enim Attice pressi, neque Asiane sunt abundantes.—*monumentis*, "memoirs, annals."

XIV. A list of the Romans, commencing with Brutus the expeller of the Kings, who must have been great orators.

L. Bruto. See notes on Cato, xx. The story of his divining the meaning of the Delphic Oracle by kissing the earth, the common mother of all, is well known.—*collegæ suo*, i. e., L. Tarquinus Collatinus, who was obliged to abdicate the consulship in consequence of his being connected with the royal family.—*paucis annis post*, &c., i. e., B.C. 494, when the plebs seceded for the first time to the Sacred Mount, and the discord was appeased, and the tribunes of the plebs

were appointed by the influence of the dictator, M'.Valerius Volusus Maximus.—*L. Valerius Poplicola Potitus*, was consul B.C. 449, with M. Horatius Barbatus. He was instrumental in helping the plebs to get rid of the decemvirs; was sent by the senate, together with Horatius, to the Mons Sacer to appease the plebs, and with him persuaded them to return, by the promulgation of the *Leges Valeriæ et Horatiæ*. See Smith's Dict. of Anc. Biog.—*Appium Claudium, C. Fabricium, Ti. Coruncanium, M'.Curium*. See notes on Cato vi. The exact year of M'.Curius's tribuneship is not known. He distinguished himself in it by opposing Appius Claudius's refusal, contrary to the Licinian law, to receive votes for any plebeian candidate, and by compelling the senate (*ante auctores fieri*) to agree beforehand to accept any one duly elected. The *lex Mœnia*, brought forward by the tribune Mænius, B.C. 287, converted this precedent into a law.—*M. Popillius Lœnas* was consul for the first time B.C. 359, and for the fourth time B.C. 348.—*læna*, "the sacrificial cloak."—*flamen Carmentalis*, the priest of the prophetess *Carmenta*, Evander's mother.—*C. Flaminius*. See notes on Cato iv.—*Q. Maximus Verrucosus*. See Cato xiv.—*Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, was consul with *L. Veturius Philo*, B.C. 206. A fragment of his oration at his father's funeral has been preserved to us by Pliny.

XV. Cethegus is the first who is *known* to have been a great orator.

M. Cornelius Cethegus. See notes on Cato, xvi.—*Suadæ*. See notes on Cato, xiv.—*Eupolis*. See notes on ch. ix.—*M. Cato*. See notes on Cato, i.—*Nævianis*. For Nævius, see notes on Cato, vi.—*M. Terentius Varro*, the author of four hundred and ninety separate works, and "the most learned of the Romans," was ten years older than Cicero. His book, *De Re Rustica*, and part of his treatise, *De Lingua Latina*, are still extant.—*Plautus*. See notes on Cato, iv.—*P. Claudius Pulcher* and *L. Porcius Licinus*, were consuls B.C. 184.—*ante me consulem*. Cicero was consul B.C. 63.

XVI. Cato, the first Roman whose writings had come down to Cicero's time. He is compared to Lysias.

Ad plebem transitiones. Patricians who wished to become tribunes of the plebs, used frequently to pass over to the plebeians, by getting themselves adopted into a plebeian family. Of course it was easy for those plebeians who wished to *claim* a patrician origin to invent a *transitio ad plebem* in a funeral oration.—*M. Tullius Longus* was consul B C. 500.—*Lysias* was Syracusan by descent, and was invited to settle at Athens by Pericles. Having sacrificed all that the Thirty Tyrants had left him of his fortune, to promote the revolution of Thrasybulus, he was made an Athenian citizen. But this gift was afterwards revoked in consequence of an informality.—*Timæus*, who was born about B.C. 352, in his history of Syracuse, claimed Lysias as a Syracusan.—The *Lex Licinia et Mucia* was passed, B.C. 95, to take away the Roman franchise from all who could not prove their right to it.—*certos sui studiosos*. These were persons who, like Calvus (see Introduction, and notes on ch. lxxxii.), found fault with Cicero for being a follower of the Asiatic school, and claimed themselves to be true imitators of the simplicity and natural and unadorned grace of Lysias. Cicero, from a spirit of opposition, is a little too hard on Lysias, who certainly was far superior as an orator to Cato.

XVII. The same subject.

Origines ejus. See notes on Cato xi.—*Philistus*, of Syracuse, the

celebrated historian, was born about B.C. 435. He wrote a history of Sicily, in which he imitated Thucydides in style, though not in sentiments.—*Theopompus* of Chios, born about B.C. 378, was the pupil and imitator of Isocrates. He wrote a continuation of the history of Thucydides, in twelve books.

XVIII. Cato's roughness is entirely owing to the time in which he lived. A similar want of finish is to be found in the productions of the early sculptors and poets. A digression on the age of Livius Andronicus.

Canachus of Sicyon, flourished about B.C. 540—508.—*Calamis* flourished about B.C. 467—429.—*Myron*, the Bœotian, was born about B.C. 480.—*Polycletus* flourished about B.C. 452—412.—*Zeuxis* of Heracleia, flourished about B.C. 424—400.—*Polygnotus* of Thasos, flourished about B.C. 463—449.—*Timanthes* was contemporary with Zeuxis.—*quattuor coloribus*. These were, says Jahn, according to Pliny (xxxv. 7, 32), "ex albis Melinum, ex silaceis Atticum, ex rubris Sinopis Pontica, ex nigris atramentum."—*Aëtion* lived in the time of Alexander the Great.—*Nicomachus* flourished about B.C. 360.—*Protogenes* and *Apelles* flourished about B.C. 332.—*Phæacum, &c.* See the songs of Demodocus, Hom. Od. viii. 260, sqq.—*ipse*, i. e., Ennius.—*Odyssea Latina*. This was the work of Livius Andronicus, but it is not known whether it was an original work, or a mere translation of Homer's Odyssey.—*Dædalus* was said to have lived in the time of Minos, a period anterior to history. Hence, to say that a work was like a work of his, was equivalent to saying that it bore traces of the extreme infancy of art.—*Livianæ fabulæ*. See notes on Cato xiv. For Horace's estimate of the plays of Livius Andronicus, see his Epist. II. i. 69.—*ut hic ait*, i. e., Atticus, in the work mentioned in ch. iii.—*L. Accius*, born about B.C. 170, was one of the early Roman poets. He stated in his *Didascalia*, or history of poetry, that Andronicus was brought to Rome after the taking of Tarentum, B.C. 209, by Fabius Maximus, instead of after its taking by L. Papirius Cursor, B.C. 272.—*C. Cornelius Cethegus* and *Q. Minucius Rufus* were consuls B.C. 197.—*M. Livius Salinator*, whose freed man and namesake, Livius Andronicus was, defeated and killed Hasdrubal, with the aid of his colleague C. Claudius Nero, on the banks of the Metaurus, near Sena Gallica, now Sinigaglia.—*Ennius* was born B.C. 239.—*Plautus et Nævius*. See notes on Cato xiv. and vi.

XIX. Cicero apologises for the digression, and gives his reasons for having introduced it. The contemporaries of Cato.

Ennius, in his Annals, beginning with the mythical period of Roman history, and coming down to his own time, said very little about the first Punic war, because, says Cicero, he thought it so well handled by Nævius.—*C. Terentius Varro* was consul B.C. 216, the year of the battle of Cannæ.—*P. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus* was consul B.C. 236. —*P. Crassus*. See notes on Cato ix.—*Filius ejus*. See notes on Cato xi.—*minorem Scipionem a Paulo, &c.* See notes on Cato i.

XX. The same subject.

Sex. Ælius Pætus Catus was consul B.C. 198.—*C. Sulpicius Gallus*. See notes on Cato xiv.—*ludos Apollini, &c.* The ludi Apollinares were constituted, B.C. 212, to induce Apollo to protect Rome and help in turning the Carthaginians out of Italy.—*Ennius* died B.C. 169.—*T. Sempronius Gracchus* (P. F., i.e., *Publii Filius*), the father of the well-

known Tiberius and Caius, was consul B.C. 177 and 163, and censor B.C. 169.—*P. Scipio Nasica Corculum.* See notes on Cato xiv.—*illius qui sacra acceperat.* This was the *P. Scipio Nasica,* who was selected as the best man in Rome to receive the image of the Magna Mater, when brought from Pessinus. See notes on Cato xiii.—*L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus* was consul B.C. 156.—*Q. Fulvius Nobilior,* who was consul B.C. 153, and was defeated with great slaughter by the Celtiberians, is better known as the son of M. Fulvius Nobilior (consul B.C. 189), the patron of Ennius, and the conqueror of Ætolia.—*triumvir.* The officers appointed to regulate the founding of a colony were generally three in number, and called *triumviri agro dividendo.*—*T. Annius Luscus* was consul B.C. 153.—*L. Æmilius Paulus.* See notes on Cato vi.—*personam.* See notes on Lælius i.—*Ser. Galbam.* See notes on ch. xxiii.—*sed,* answering to our "I say," or "well then," reintroduces *Catone vivo* after the parenthesis.

XXI. The orators that came into notice when Cato was an old man. Of these the chief was Ser. Galba. Lælius was counted a better speaker than Scipio, because people seldom allow that a man can excel in two things.

A. Postumius Albinus was consul B.C. 151.—*Ser. Fulvius Flaccus* was consul B.C. 135.—*Ser. Fabius Pictor* wrote *De Jure Pontificio* and Annals in *Latin.* The earlier Q. Fabius Pictor wrote in Greek.—*Q. Fabius Labeo* was consul B.C. 183.—*Q. Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus.* See notes on Lælius xxi.—*L. Aurelius Cotta,* consul B.C. 144 and 119, was accused by Scipio Africanus the younger, and defended by Metellus. He was acquitted by the judges for fear they should be thought to have yielded to Scipio's influence.—*C. Fannius.* See notes on Lælius i.—*C Lælius.* See notes on Cato i.—*Viriathus* was general of the Lusitani for eight years, and defeated every Roman general sent against him, till Q. Servilius Cæpio persuaded Viriathus's friends to murder him, B.C. 140.

XXII. Lælius himself declared that he was inferior to Galba.

P. Rutilio Rufo. See notes on ch. xxx.—*P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio* and *D. Junius Brutus Gallæcus* were consuls B.C. 138.—*silva Sila* was the name of a large forest that grew in the south of Bruttium. *Sila* and *silva* are evidently forms of the same word.—*familia,* "the slaves." —*societatis,* "the company."—*picarias.* The pitch from the *silva Sila* was celebrated.—*P. Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus Africanus* and *L. Mummius Achaicus* were censors B.C. 142. — "*amplius*" *pronuntiare* = "to adjourn the trial."—*socii,* "the company."—*publicanos,* i. e., the *socii* or members of the *societas* and their friends, who, as *publicani,* would be mostly of the order of the *equites.*—*descendisse,* i. e., into the forum, which lay in the valley.—*Testudine,* "an arched room."

XXIII. Lælius addressed himself to the intellect, and Galba to the feelings. Hence Galba escaped condemnation when tried for his life.

Ser. Sulpicius Galba, being prætor in Spain, B.C. 151, lost 7000 men in a contest with the Lusitani. The next year, when they expressed their regret at having recommenced hostilities with the Romans, he concluded a treaty with them, decoyed them into the plain under the pretext of giving them fertile lands, and murdered almost the whole tribe, unarmed, and in cold blood. The next year the tribune T. Scribonius Libo and Cato accused him before the people, and only

failed in getting him convicted because he made use of the means alluded to in the text. It is a pleasure to know that Viriathus was one of the few who escaped from this massacre of the Lusitani, and that he amply revenged his slaughtered countrymen—*C. Sulpicius Gallus* was a relation of Galba's. See De Or. i. 53, 228. where a longer account of the whole scene is given.

XXIV. Galba's writings are not equal to his fame, because men who work themselves up to speak with fire and passion under the excitement of the moment, as he did, cannot recall these feelings when they sit calmly down afterwards to write.

XXV. The list of those who were contemporary with Cato's old age is continued.

L. Mummius Achaicus, the conqueror of Corinth, was consul, B.C. 146. *Sp. Mummius* was his legate at Corinth.—*Sp. Postumius Albinus Magnus* was consul B.C. 148.—*L. Aurelius Orestes* was consul B.C. 126.—*C. Aurelius Orestes* was his younger brother.—*P. Popillius Lænas*, as consul, B.C. 132, pursued the party of Ti. Gracchus relentlessly. He was obliged to fly from Rome when C. Gracchus succeeded to his brother's power. Cicero calls him *civis egregius* for his thorough aristocratic partisanship.—*C. Sempronius Tuditanus*, conqueror over the Japydes, was consul B.C. 129.—*M. Octavius* was tribune of the plebs with Ti. Gracchus, B.C. 133, and by his *veto* prevented the passing of Gracchus's agrarian law, till Gracchus, in despair, proposed and carried Octavius's deposition from the tribuneship.—This act (*injuria a M. Octavio accepta*), however, being looked on as a breach of the Roman constitution, at once injured, and finally undermined, Gracchus's authority.—*M. Æmilius Lepidus Porcina* was consul B.C. 137.—*levitas*, "smoothness of style."—*C. Papirius Carbo*. See notes on Lælius, xi.—*Q. Pompeius*. See notes on Lælius xxi.—*homo per se cognitus*="a man who could stand on his own merits, not on those of his ancestors;" a distinguished *novus homo*.—*L. Cassius Longinus Ravella*, when tribune, B.C. 137, carried a law (*lex tabellaria*) to introduce the ballot in the *judicium populi*, except in cases of *perduellio*.—*Lepido*, i. e., Porcina.—*Africano*, i. e., the younger Africanus.—*Cn. Servilius Cæpio* was consul B.C. 141, and *Q. Servilius Cæpio* the next year. The latter was the murderer of Viriathus. See note on ch. xxi.—*Sex. Pompeius*, the father of the Sex. Pompeius and Cn. Pompeius Strabo mentioned in chapter xlvii., was the husband of Lucilia, the sister of the poet Lucilius.

XXVI. The same subject.

P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus was consul B.C. 131. He was the son of *P. Mucius Scævola* (who was consul B.C. 175), but was adopted by P. Licinius Crassus Dives, the son of the opponent of Hannibal.—*Caio filio*. See notes on ch. xxxiii.—*P. Mucius Scævola*, the brother of Crassus, was consul B.C. 133, and became pontifex maximus B.C. 131. He was also celebrated as a jurisconsult.—*C. Fannius Strabo* (the son of Caius) was consul with *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus* B.C. 122. His speech *de sociis et nomine Latino* was in opposition to C. Gracchus's proposal to extend the full franchise to the Latins, and give the *socii* the Latin franchise.—*C. Persius* was one of the most learned men of the time, so that Lucilius, who wished his works to be popular with those between the very ignorant and the very learned, said he had no wish that Persius should read them.—*Lucilius*. See notes on Hor. I. Sat. iv. 6.—*Menelaus*, of Marathus, on the borders of Phœnicia, was the

tutor of Tib. and C. Gracchus in rhetoric.—*auctoritate P. Africani*, i. e., Africanus the younger, not "Africanus senior," as Smith's Biog. Dict. has it.—*C. Fannius M. Filius.* See notes on Lælius i.—*Q. Scævolam.*—See notes on Lælius i.—*Panætius*, a Stoic philosopher of Rhodes, was the friend of Lælius and Africanus.—*T. Albucius* accused Q. Mucius Scævola of embezzlement during the time he was prætor in Asia, B.C. 121.—*prudentiæ*, "learning," is a word often used of lawyers. So *prudenter* in Lælius i.—*L. Cœlius Antipater* was a lawyer and a historian. He is several times quoted by Livy with deference (see his History, xxi. 37), and in fact generally bore a high character as a writer, though Cicero seems to think he was rather a rhetorician than a historian. See the De Or. ii. 13.—*Crassus.* See notes on ch. xxxviii.

XXVII. The same subject.

C. Carbone. See note on Læl. xi.—*invidia fœderis Numantini.* Ti. Gracchus, as quæstor, B.C. 137, to C. Hostilius Mancinus, through his own and his father's reputation with the Numantines for justice, concluded a treaty with them after Mancinus's defeat, by which he saved the whole Roman army of more than 20,000 men from destruction. The Romans, however, with their usual faith to enemies, refused to ratify the treaty, kept the 20,000 men, but delivered Mancinus naked to the Numantines, to be dealt with as they might choose. The insinuation that this was the reason of Gracchus's subsequent conduct, is, of course, contemptible.—*bonis*, i. e., *the aristocratical party;* just as all men call men of their own party "good men and true".—*Diophanes*, of Mitylene, remained Ti. Gracchus's friend after he had ceased to be his tutor, and was put to death by the same party that killed Gracchus.—*breve tempus*, i. e., about seven months. Carbo's career stretched from B.C. 133, the year of Ti. Gracchus's tribunate, till B.C. 119.—*L Gellius.* See ch. xlvii.—*dicebat.* One would expect *dicebant* to agree with *hunc qui audierant*, which ought to be the subject. But it is attracted to agree with the nearer nominative in the subordinate sentence, *Gellius.*—*quæstiones perpetuæ.* "Censorino et Manilio consulibus (i. e., B.C. 149) tribunus plebis L. Piso primus legem de repetundis tulit, quam deinde aliæ leges de criminibus publicis secutæ sunt, quibus cautum erat, uti ad quæsitorem aliquem, cui ea *quæstio* obtigisset, hæ causæ per judices selectos agerentur. Et quoniam quotannis creabantur, quibus hæ quæstiones mandarentur, adeoque semper essent qui eas exercerent, propterea *perpetuæ* sunt appellatæ. .... Ante L. Pisonis tempora causæ publicæ agebantur apud populum in comitiis, unde *judicia populi* dicebantur, cum nullæ leges essent, ex quibus apud magistratum reus agi aliquis de crimine publico posset." Ernesti.—*L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi* was tribune of the plebs B.C. 149 and consul B.C. 133.—*quam legem L. Cassius.* See note on ch. xxv.

XXVIII. The same subject.

D. Brutus. See notes on Læl. ii.—*L. Accius* was born B.C. 170. He wrote tragedies, some after the Greek (*palliatæ*), and some (*prætextatæ*) on Roman subjects.—*Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus* was consul B.C. 121. He was the son of *Maximus Æmilianus*, who was by birth the son of L. Paullus Æmilius Macedonicus, and was only adopted into the Fabian family. See notes on Cato xix.—*illum Scipionem*, i. e., *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio*, who was consul B.C. 138, was the leader in the murder of Ti. Gracchus, and was compelled ever after by the popular feeling to absent himself from Rome.—*P. Cornelius Lentulus*

was consul suff. B.C. 162, and was wounded in the disturbances connected with C. Gracchus, B.C. 121.—*princeps*, i. e., *senatûs*.—*L. Furius Philus.* See Lael. iv.—*M.' Manilius* was consul B.C. 149.—*Appius Claudius Pulcher* was consul B.C. 143.—*M. Fulvius Flaccus,* consul B.C. 125, and the resolute friend of both the Gracchi, was triumvir agro dividendo with C. Gracchus and C. Papirius Carbo, and was put to death by the aristocratic party under Opimius, B.C. 121.—*C. Porcius Cato,* grandson of Cato the censor, was consul B.C. 114. In B.C. 110, he went into voluntary banishment, to escape condemnation under the *lex Mamilia.* See notes on ch. xxxiv.—*P. Decius* was tribune of the plebs B.C. 120, when he brought Opimius to trial for the murder of C. Gracchus the year before, but was unsuccessful, owing to the terrible proof that the aristocratic party had so recently given of their strength. —*turbulentus.* Every one who opposed the aristocratic party was in Cicero's eyes *turbulentus,* and every one who sided with it, *bonus.*—*M. Livius Drusus* was tribune of the plebs B.C. 122, when C. Gracchus was tribune for the second time. The aim of Drusus, who was put foward by the aristocrats for the purpose, was to out-bid Gracchus in all his proposals, and so undermine him in popular favour; and this he did with such success that he was called *patronus senatûs.* As consul, B.C. 112, he gained a victory, and triumphed over the Scordisci.—*M. Junius Pennus,* as tribune, B.C. 126, proposed and carried a law that all the *peregrini* should be turned out of Rome, in spite of the opposition of C. Gracchus, on whose side the *peregrini* were.—*illius Marci,* i. e., the Marcus Junius Pennus who was consul B.C. 167.—*T. Quinctius Flamininus* was consul B.C. 123.

XXIX. A description of the oratory and writings of M. Æmilius Scaurus.

C. Scribonius Curio. See chap. xxxii.—*M. Æmilius Scaurus,* consul B.C. 115, censor B.C. 109, and consul suff. B.C. 107, managed by his abilities to raise himself from poverty and obscurity to very great influence in the state, and abused that influence to accumulate a very large fortune. Though known to have received bribes from Jugurtha, he managed to get himself appointed one of the judges to try his companions in crime; and though often accused, and probably often as guilty, as he is known to have been in the case of Jugurtha, he always procured his own acquittal. Cicero, of course, praises him, because he was a bulwark of the aristocracy.—*ut testimonium dicere putares.* So Lord Brougham (Statesmen of the Time of George III. vol. ii., p. 128) says of Sir Samuel Romilly: "Nor was anything in his oratory more striking or effective than the heartfelt sincerity which it throughout displayed, in topic, in diction, in tone, in look, in gesture."—*cujus* agrees with *senatûs* understood from *senatoriam.*—*prudentiam,* "knowledge." —*L. Fufidius* flourished as a pleader B.C. 115-105.—*Cyri vitam, &c.,* i. e., the Cyropædeia.—*laudibus,* i. e., Scaurus's autobiography, which, of course, was *laudatory* enough.— *P. Rutilius Rufus,* consul B.C. 105, was legate to Q. Mucius Scævola, when proconsul of Asia, B.C. 95. Here his integrity and rigid justice so irritated the *publicani,* that they suborned a man named Apicius to accuse him of embezzlement. As the equites were both *publicani* in the provinces and *judices* at home, he was of course found guilty, and obliged to retire into banishment at Smyrna.

XXX. The characteristics of Rutilius's oratory.

Munus, "the office."—*de jure respondendi*, "of giving advice on matters of law." See note on *possis tamen*, &c., in Cato ch. ix.—*L. Crassus*, &c. See notes on ch. xxxviii.—*C. Cotta*. See notes on ch. lv.—*ut in scena . . . statarios*. A play that was full of bustle and noise was called *motoria*, and one that was the reverse was called *stataria*.

XXXI. The reason why the stoics fail in public speaking. Brutus's wisdom in joining a school less alien from eloquence, though the philosophic style must always be too gentle for the forum.

Q. Ælius Tubero, the grandson of L. Æmilius Paullus Macedonicus, was a tribune of the plebs with T. Gracchus, B.C. 133, and steadily opposed him as well as his brother Caius after him.—*triumviratu*. This is probably a wrong reading. Jahn proposes to substitute *tribunatu*, because, if the judge appointed by the prætor declined the office, the decision might fall into the hands of the tribunes.—*architecti*, "inventors."—*in quadam epistola*. This letter has not come down to us. Probably it was spurious, like the six we have, which are said to be his.

XXXII. The rest of the Roman orators of the period.

C. Scribonius Curio was prætor B.C. 121.—*Ser. Fulvius Flaccus* was consul B.C. 135.—*magnificentius . . . et ornatius*. That Cicero had improved his country's literature in this way, is true, though he perhaps was hardly the person to say it. But this very ornateness and copiousness of style was turned into a charge against him by a party to which Brutus partly belonged. See Introduction.

XXXIII. Caius Gracchus and his successors characterised.

In manibus, "close at hand."—*C. Sempronius Gracchus*, when his brother Tiberius was murdered, B.C. 133, was with the army in Spain. He shrunk for some time from embarking on the same course as his brother, but he at length felt himself impelled, B.C. 123, by the appeals of others and his own conscience, to struggle for the benefit of the people. There can be no doubt that if his views had been carried out, the Roman State would have been regenerated, and not have sunk so soon after into such a state that despotism was a necessity for it. The aristocratic party, however, in their blind passion for power, thwarted his patriotic views, by a series of discreditable manœuvres diminished his popularity, and at last empowered Opimius (B.C. 121) to murder him and his followers.—*paternam . . . avitam*. Caius's *father* Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (see ch. xx.) had married the daughter of the elder Africanus, who was therefore Caius's *grandfather*.—*C. Sulpicius Galba*, the son of Ser. Sulpicius Galba, and the son-in-law of P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus, was quæstor B.C. 120. In B.C. 110 he was condemned, along with a number of the aristocratic party, for receiving bribes from Jugurtha, by a bill brought in by the tribune C. Mamilius Limetanus. The disclosures made under this bill inflicted a blow on the reputation of the aristocratic party from which they never recovered.

XXXIV. The orators who succeeded C. Gracchus.

P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, son of Nasica Serapio (see ch. xxviii.), was consul with Bestia B.C. 111, and was very highly respected.—*L. Calpurnius Bestia* having, as tribune of the plebs, B.C. 121, recalled P. Popillius Lænas (see notes, chap. xxv) from banishment, was in consequence appointed consul B.C. 111; but his shameless acceptance of Jugurtha's bribes, and the unauthorised peace he made with him in consequence, caused the tribune Mamilius to bring in the bill spoken of in the notes

to the last chapter.—*invidiosa quæstione.* It is sad to see a good man like Cicero so utterly swayed by party feeling as to call by such a title an investigation which was most righteous, if ever there was one.—*C. Catonem.* See notes on ch. xxviii.—*Sp. Postumius Albinus* was consul B.C. 110, and conducted the war against Jugurtha in such a way as to lead to the suspicion that he was bribed. His brother, Aulus, who acted for him in his absence, suffered his troops to suffer a shameful defeat, and go under the yoke on a promise of evacuating Numidia forthwith.—*L. Opimius,* consul B.C. 121, under the forms of law murdered C. Gracchus and upwards of three thousand of his supporters in a civil outbreak which he caused. Though he escaped condemnation when accused by Q. Decius (see notes on ch. xxviii.), his accepting Jugurtha's bribes was proved against him B.C. 110, and he died in banishment at Epidamnus universally detested.—*Gracchani judices,* i. e., the *equites,* who were constituted *judices,* instead of the senate, by one of the laws of C. Gracchus.—*Hujus,* i. e., *Bestiæ.*—*C. Licinius Nerva* is only known from this passage.—*C. Flavius Fimbria* was consul, B.C. 104, with *C. Marius* when consul for the second time. He was brought to trial for malversation in the province he received after his consulship, by M. Gratidius (see ch. xlv.), but was acquitted.—*auctor,* "a leader." —*C. Sextius Calvinus* is mentioned only by Cicero here and in De Or. ii. 60, 61.—*M. Junius Brutus may* have been, and, if we may judge from his being compared with Lycurgus, probably was, a much better man than Cicero makes him out to be, as he was of a different political party; and we have already seen how one-sided party feeling often made Cicero.—*patrem,* i. e., M. Junius Brutus, who was looked on as one of the founders of the civil law. He left three books behind him on the subject. He was of course an aristocrat, as Cicero calls him *optimum.*—*accusationem factitaverit,* "took up the business of an informer."—*Lycurgus,* born about B.C. 396, was a cotemporary and coadjutor of Demosthenes. His patriotism was such, that Philip demanded that he should be given up to him; and the public love and respect for him such, that the Athenians refused to give him up. He took on himself the office of accuser of all who injured Athens by their acts, and was himself one of the noblest and most virtuous citizens that Athens ever had. That Cicero should wish to show his bad opinion of Brutus by comparing him to so good a man as Lycurgus is rather singular.—The *lex Aquilia* provided compensation for loss by a man's unlawfully (*injuria*) killing any slave or animal belonging to another.

XXXV. The same subject.

T. Albucius was satirised by Lucilius (see the verses preserved in Cicero's De Fin. i. 3, 9) for always affecting to be a Greek. He was prætor B.C. 105 in Sardinia, and was soon after condemned for malversation in his province, and obliged to go into exile at Athens.—*minime . . . genus,* "a kind of teaching (*or,* a school) but little fitted to form an orator."—*Q. Lutatius Catulus* was consul, B.C. 102, with C. Marius, and together with him defeated the Cimbri, Teutones, &c. Having, as a strong aristocrat, sided with Sulla, he was proscribed by Marius in the terrible proscription of B.C. 87, and killed himself to avoid falling into his enemies' hands.—*misit,* "he dedicated." Jahn quotes a verse of Lucilius preserved by Auctor ad Her. iv. 12, 18: "Has res ad te scriptas, Luci, misimus, Æli."—*A. Furius Antias* was an Epic poet.—*iste,* "that book that you have just mentioned of Catulus's."—

filium. See notes on ch. lxii.—*Q. Cæcilius Metellus Numidicus,* as consul B.C. 109, with *M. Junius Silanus,* carried on the war with vigour against Jugurtha, but was unable to bring it to an end before he was superseded by Marius.—*M. Aurelius Scaurus* was consul B.C. 108. When legate in Gaul, B.C. 105, he was taken prisoner by the Cimbri, and killed because he told them it was no good their crossing the Alps, as they could never overcome the Romans.—*A. Postumius Albinus,* son of the Aulus Albinus mentioned in chap. xxxiv., was consul B.C. 99. Who the *flamen Albinus* was is not known.—*Q. Servilius Cæpio* was consul B.C. 106. He was the author of the *lex Servilia* which restored for a time to the senate the *judicium* which Caius Gracchus had taken from them and vested in the *equites.* Hence Cicero says that the *invidia populi* came on him. Next year his dissensions with Cn. Mallius caused the utter defeat both of his own and Mallius's armies by the Cimbri, and the loss of 80,000 soldiers and 40,000 camp-followers. For this he was accused by the tribune C. Norbanus, B.C. 95, and, though defended by L. Licinius Crassus, was obliged to go into exile.

XXXVI. The same subject. Cicero's reason for inserting the names of so many persons of mediocre powers.

C. Memmius, as tribune of the plebs, B.C. 111, was one of the chief means of laying open the corruption practised by Jugurtha among the aristocratic leaders at Rome. He was murdered, B.C. 100, because he seemed likely to be chosen consul instead of Glaucia.—*L. Memmius,* his brother, was of the Marian faction.—*Sp. Thorius* introduced a bill which repealed the Agrarian law of Gracchus, and imposed a tax on the holders of the public land for the benefit of the poor. See Appian, Bell. Civ. 1. 27, as quoted by Jahn, who remarks that, in consequence of Appian's statement, *vectigali* must be looked on as the abl. of the instr., and *vitiosa et inutili lege* (i. e., the agrarian law of Gracchus) as the abl. after *levavit.*—*M. Claudius Marcellus* fought under Marius against the Teutones at Aquæ Sextiæ. In the Marsic war, he defended Æsernia for a long time till he was forced to surrender from want of provisions. Hence, probably, it was that his son was called *Æserninus.* He himself is here called *Æsernini pater,* to distinguish him from the descendants of the great Marcellus, the conqueror of Syracuse.—*P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus* was a son of the defender of Æsernia, and was adopted into the family of the Lentuli.—*L. Aurelius Cotta* was tribune of the plebs, B.C. 95, and must afterwards have been prætor (*prætorius*).—*spisse* = "*tarde, cum difficultate.*"

XXXVII. The oratory of M. Antonius.

M. Antonius was born B.C. 143, was quæstor B.C. 113, and prætor B.C. 104, when, as proconsul in Cilicia, he conducted the war against the pirates so as to earn a triumph, B.C. 102. He opposed Saturninus, B.C. 100, was consul the next year, sided with Sulla in the struggle between him and Marius, and was put to death, B.C. 87, in the Marian proscription.—*comprehensio,* "a period," or "well-turned sentence."—*σχήματα.* "Rhetoricians distinguish between σχήματα λέξεως and σχήματα διανοίας. Cicero considers the latter to be far the more effective." Jahn.

XXXVIII. Antonius was equalled if not surpassed by Crassus.

Convertebat = *convertebat se.*—*actionem,* "delivery."—*L. Licinius Crassus Dives* was born B.C. 140. When twenty-one years of age he accused *C. Papirius Carbo* with such vehemence that Carbo, seeing his

condemnation certain, poisoned himself with cantharides. He was tribune of the people B.C. 107, spoke in favour of the lex Servilia of Servilius Cæpio, B.C. 106, and was consul with Q. Mucius Scævola the pontifex, B.C. 95. During their consulship was passed the *lex Licinia Mucia*, mentioned in notes on ch. xvi. He was censor B.C. 92, and opposed the consul L. Marcius Philippus (B.C. 91) in his attacks on the senate with such vehemence that he brought on a fever which put an end to him in seven days. Cicero evidently prefers him to Antonius, as may be seen more fully from chapters xl. and xliii.—*Erat summa gravitas.* The whole of this passage down to the end of the chapter is quoted by Lord Brougham (Statesmen of the Time of George III. vol. ii. p. 187), as illustrative of the oratory and powers of Mr. Windham.—*facetiarum,* &c. For specimens of Crassus's ready wit see Smith's Biog. Dict.

XXXIX. Crassus compared with Q. Scævola.

interpretari, "to explain."—*explicare*, "to unfold," "tell out fully."—*centumviri.* The centumviri were judges elected three out of each tribe, so that, as there were finally thirty-five tribes, the number actually amounted at last to one hundred and five. There is great doubt about the exact limits of their jurisdiction; but we may judge from the case of M'. Curius (see ch. liii.), that the interpretation of wills was within it.—*Q. Mucius Scævola,* the pontifex. See notes on Lælius, ch. i.—*existimator*, "a critic."

XL. Brutus suggests that the same contrast exists between Cicero and Sulpicius, as Cicero has just shown to have existed between Crassus and Scævola.

C. Rutilius was probably the brother of the Rutilius mentioned in ch. xxx.—*Scævolæ nostri*, i. e., the Q. Mucius Scævola who was tribune of the people B.C. 54.—*nostri,* "our contemporary."—*mediocritas.* See Arist. Eth. ii. 5, μεσότης τις ἄρα ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρετή. As Aristotle, however, was the founder of the Peripatetic school, Cicero probably attributes the opinion to the old academy, as Jahn suggests, out of compliment to Brutus, see ch. xxxi.—*Tum Brutus.* The elaborate comparison drawn between Crassus and Scævola was introduced, it is to be feared, mainly to enable Cicero to make Brutus introduce the equally elaborate and very complimentary comparison between Sulpicius and Cicero; though, at the same time, it must be remembered (see Introduction) that Cicero is here endeavouring to answer the attacks made against him and to fix his historical position as an orator.—*Ser. Sulpicius Lemonia Rufus,* who was of about the same age as Cicero, was consul B.C. 51. He sided, though not very decidedly, with Cæsar, who made him proconsul of Achaia, B.C. 46. He left behind him 180 treatises on legal subjects, and is the author of the well-known letter of condolence to Cicero on the death of his daughter Tullia. "Perhaps," says Smith (Dict. Biog.), "of all the men of his age, or of any age, he was as an orator, a jurist, and an advocate, without an equal or a rival."—*tantum juris civilis.* For Cicero's legal studies see what he says in the Lælius, ch. i.

XLI. Cicero delivers an eulogium on Ser. Sulpicius.

una Rhodum. Cicero and Sulpicius went together to Rhodes, B.C. 78.—*secunda,* "of the second rank."—*prima,* "of the first rank."—*principibus,* "the chief," that is, "among orators."—*artem,* "the science."—*scientia,* "the knowledge."—*quæ . . . consequentia,* "what conclusions follow, and what do not follow, from what (i. e. from any given) premisses." The construction is that of a double question so

common in Greek.—*respondere* = "to give counsel's opinion," as we should now call it.

XLII. The same subject. Brutus regrets that the state can no longer avail itself of Sulpicius's advice and Cicero's eloquence, but is forbidden by Atticus to indulge in political reflections.

L. Lucilius Balbus was one of the pupils of Q. Mucius Scævola, and a man of much legal knowledge.—*C. Aquilius Gallus* was also one of the pupils of Scævola, and was one of the great remediers of the defects of the Roman law.—*Sami.* This was B.C. 47, when Brutus went to meet Cæsar at Nicæa, after having been pardoned by him.—*jus nostrum pontificium.* Brutus was one of the college of pontiffs.—*non modo* = *non modo non,* the negative in *ne-quidem* being referred to both clauses, as is often the case when both clauses have the same predicate, and the predicate stands in the latter.

XLIII. Cicero reverts to the manner and career of Crassus, and states that in him first Roman oratory arrived at its maturity, and little room was left for subsequent improvement, except at the hands of one who should combine in himself a mastery over legal, philosophical, and historical knowledge.

in altercando, "in the interchange of brief replies and arguments" with the counsel for the opposite side.—*C. Carbonem.* See notes on ch. xxxviii.—*Licinia,* the Vestal Virgin, a relation of Crassus's, as may be seen from the name, was defended by him (B.C. 114) from the charge of incest brought against her and some other Vestal Virgins; but the well-known severity of the accuser, L. Cassius (see ch. xxv.), nullified all Crassus's efforts.—*adolescens.* It was in B.C. 118, and therefore four years before his defence of Licinia, that Crassus advocated the establishment of a colony at Narbonne for the benefit of the poor, though against the interests, as it was thought at the time, of the senate.—*in eam legem,* "*on* that law."—*senior,* "maturer in style." —*tribunatus.* This was B.C. 107.—*Q. Granius,* though only, like Horace's father, a money-collector for auctioneers, was well known in Rome for his witty sayings (see Smith's Biog. Dict.) He figured for the same reason in the Satires of Lucilius.—*legem Serviliam,* i. e., the law of Q. Servilius Cæpio. See notes on ch. xxxv. It may be observed, however, that there was another *lex Servilia* of exactly an opposite tendency which was brought forward by C. Servilius Glaucia two years afterwards. This latter law abrogated Cæpio's law, and re-instated the Sempronian law of C. Gracchus.—*His consulibus,* i. e., C. Atilius Serranus and Q. Servilius Cæpio, B.C. 106.—*nisi qui . . . instructior.* Here Cicero evidently hints at himself, and intimates what, in his opinion, his superiority over Crassus consists in.

XLIV. Cicero evades the question as to whether Crassus's superior has yet arrived, and proceeds with Crassus's career.

aut, "or rather," introduces a correction of *erit,* and not a different question, which would require *an.*—*Pro Q. Cæpione.* See notes on ch. xxxv.—*ambitus* is the Latin translation of *περίοδος*, as *membra* is of *κῶλα.* The latter term is explained in Ad Her. iv. 19, 26, "Membrum orationis appellatur res breviter absoluta sine totius sententiæ demonstratione, quæ denuo alio membro excipitur." He then gives as an instance of a sentence composed of three *membra,* "Et inimico proderas, et amicum lædebas, et tibi ipsi non consulebas."—*in legem,* "*on* the law."—*judicum,* i. e. the equites.—*capitibus,* "heads of his

speech."—*Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus* was consul B.C. 96, and as Crassus's colleague in the censorship, B.C. 92, was opposed to Crassus's luxurious habits, whence arose frequent bickerings between them, alluded to in the expression *censoria contra collegam oratio.*—*commentarium*, "a sketch," or "notes".—*clamoribus*, "applause."

XLV. The cotemporaries of Crassus.

Personam. See notes on Lælius, ch. i.—*C. Cœlius Caldus*, as tribune of the plebs, B.C. 107, was the author of a law that the votes should be given by ballot in cases of high treason. He was afterwards, though a *novus homo*, consul B.C. 94.—*M. Herennius*, also a *novus homo*, was consul B.C. 93.—*sodalitate*. See notes on Cato, ch. xiii.—*collegio*, i.e. "the college of augurs or pontiffs," &c.—*L. Philippum*. See notes on ch. xlvii.—*C. Claudius Pulcher* was consul B.C. 92.—*C. Titius* is said to have spoken in favour of the sumptuary law of C. Fannius, B.C. 161.—*L. Afranius*, who flourished about B.C. 100, was celebrated for his *comœdiæ togatæ*, or comedies on subjects taken from Roman life. Horace (II. Ep. i. 57) compares him with Menander, "Dicitur Afrani toga convenisse Menandro." —*Q. Rubrius Varro*, who was tribune with C. Gracchus, B.C. 122, was declared a public enemy, B.C. 88, when the whole Marian party had to flee from Rome till Sulla had departed with his army for Asia.—*M. Gratidius* was a friend of the orator M. Antonius, and went with him (B.C. 102) to the province of Cilicia as his prefect, but was shortly after killed.—*C. Fimbriam*. See notes on ch. xxxiv.—*M. Marii Gratidiani*. See ch. lxii.

XLVI. The cotemporaries of Crassus among the *Socii* and *Latini*, and the nature of their inferiority to the orators of Rome.

Q. Vettius Vettianus is only known by this passage.—*Q. Valerius Soranus* was a poet and a very learned man, valued and quoted by Varro the antiquarian. His brother is only known from this passage. The same may be said of *C. Rusticelius* of Bologna, and of *T. Betutius Barrus* of Ascoli.—*Ælius*. See notes on ch. lvi.—*L. Papirius* of Fregellæ, near the modern Ceprano, may have spoken for the claims of Fregellæ either before its revolt or to save it from the total destruction which was brought upon it by the ruthless L. Opimius, B.C. 125. But nothing certain is known on the subject.—*Ti. Gracchi P. F.*, i.e., the father of Tiberius and Caius. See notes on ch. xx.—*urbanitate*. The special refinement which Cicero denies to provincial orators is just that which seems to float in the air of those cities which have been the great centres of thought and civilisation and power. Paris is a familiar instance in our own times. London is not remarkably a case in point, from our hatred of centralisation. So Germany can produce no prominent instance, as Jahn remarks, clearly because of the divided political life of the nation.—*Galliam*. Brutus went to Cisalpine Gaul in the same year that this treatise was written (B.C. 46) as its governor under Cæsar.—*T. Tinca* of Placentia, now Piacenza, is said by Quintilian (I. 5, 12), as quoted by Jahn, to have habitually uttered barbarisms, saying, for instance, *precula* for *pergula*.—*Q. Granio*. See notes on ch. xliii.—*Theophrasto*. See notes on ch. ix.—*pote* = *pote est.*—*nostros*, "those of our own city."

XLVII. The merits of L. Philippus and others.

L. Marcius Philippus, when tribune, B.C. 104, brought forward an agrarian law; which would seem to show that he was inclined at first to the popular side. As consul, B.C. 91, he opposed the measures of M.

Livius Drusus (the son of the Drusus mentioned in ch. xxviii.), even when Drusus was popular with the senate, with such vehemence as to rouse Crassus to the speech which brought on the fever of which he died. He had a great reputation for wit and sarcasm, and was fond of the luxuries of the table; and his fish-ponds were said to rival those of Lucullus. See Horace Ep. I. vii. 46, sqq. Lord Brougham aptly compares him to Canning, of whom he says (Statesmen of the Time of George III., vol. ii. p. 107): "In him were combined lively original fancy, a happily retentive and ready memory, singular powers of lucid statement, and occasionally wit in all its varieties, now biting and sarcastic to annoy, if not to overwhelm, an antagonist; now pungent or giving point to an argument; now playful for mere amusement, and bringing relief to a tedious statement, or lending a charm to dry chains of close reasoning."—*carceribus*. See notes on Cato, ch. xxiii.—*L. Gellius Publicola*, a *novus homo*, as consul, B.C. 72, was defeated, with his colleague Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus, by Spartacus. He supported Cicero's conduct towards Catiline, B.C. 63, and in B.C. 57 proposed that he should be recalled from exile.—*D. Junius Brutus* and *Mam. Æmilius Lepidus Livianus* were consuls B.C. 77.—*L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus*, consul B.C. 83, was of the Marian faction. Sulla persuaded his soldiers to desert him, and took him prisoner, but allowed him to go away uninjured.—*Cn. Pompeius Strabo*, the son of Sextus (see notes on ch. xxv.) and the father of Pompey the Great, distinguished himself in the Social War, when consul, B.C. 89, by defeating the Marsi, the Marrucini, and the Vestini, and by taking Asculum. Being ordered to give up his army to Q. Pompeius Rufus, who had succeeded him as consul, he caused him to be murdered. Next year he was struck dead by lightning, and his body insulted by his own soldiers.—*Nam Sex. frater ejus*. The *nam*, as Jahn remarks, is parenthetical. "His brother Sex., of course, was no orator, for he," &c.—*M. Brutus*. Who this M. Brutus was is rendered impossible to discover by the *hiatus* just before it.—*C. Billienus* is not mentioned elsewhere.—*Cn. Octavius* was consul, B.C. 87, with L. Cornelius Cinna, whom he strenuously resisted, till he had driven him out of the city. But Cinna, returning with Marius and a large army of the Italians, whose cause he had espoused for his own purposes, had him put to death by C. Marcius Censorinus.

XLVIII. The merits of C. Julius and others.

C. Julius Cæsar Strabo Vopiscus was ædile B.C. 90, and candidate for the consulship B.C. 88, without having been prætor previously. The contest that resulted from this violation of the law, led to civil disturbances, which ended in Sulla's driving out the leading democrats. The next year Cæsar was killed in the Marian disturbances.—*P. Cornelius Cethegus* was proscribed by Sulla, B.C. 88, as belonging to the Marian party; but directly he found out he was on the losing side, he came over to Sulla, and, in spite of his notorious character, exercised great influence over him.—*Q. Lucretius Vispillo* is only known from this passage.—*Q. Lucretius Ofella*, having come over to Sulla from the Marian party, was employed by him in the siege of Præneste, and, in consequence, became a candidate for the consulship without having passed through the inferior offices. Sulla, having advised him to withdraw once or twice, sent the centurion L. Billienus to put him to death.—*prudens* "learned in the law."—*T. Annius Velina* is not other-

wise known.—*ejus generis*, i. e., "altogether dependent on the knowledge of the law."—*T. Juventius* is supposed to be the same as C. Juventius (one of the best of the pupils of Mucius Scævola) whose writings were embodied by Ser. Sulpicius in his own works.—*P. Orbius* was a pupil (*auditor*) of Juventius.—*T. Aufidius* was quæstor B.C. 84, and afterwards prætor in Asia. His cousin (*frater*), *M. Virgilius*, had the boldness, when tribune, B.C. 87, to fix a day for Sulla to be brought to trial, just when Sulla, in the height of his power, was going over with his army to Asia.—*P. Magius* was also tribune B.C. 87.—*nostri ordinis*, i. e., "the Senate."—*Q. Sertorius* belonged to the Marian faction, and was urged by his colleagues, through jealousy, to undertake the management of the province of Further Spain. He maintained this position from B.C. 82 to B.C. 72 against the best Roman generals and soldiers that could be brought against him, till he was murdered by some noble Romans, who did not approve of being inferior to a man of unaristocratic origin.—*C. Gargonius, T. Junius,* and *P. Sextius* are not mentioned elsewhere.

XLIX. Cicero repeats his reasons for mentioning the names not only of all the orators, but also of all the speakers. The successors of Julius. The question debated whether the learned or the masses are the proper judges of oratory.

Monumentis. See notes on ch. xiii.—*clamatorem*, "a mere bawler."—*C. Cotta, P. Sulpicius,* &c. For these see ch. lv. *sqq.*—*primas*, i. e., *partes.*—*An tu id laboras*, "You do not trouble yourself about that; do you? if only," &c.—*artifex*, "the true artist; the accomplished judge of the art."

L. The best judges of oratory and the masses always agree in their estimate of orators.

Antigenidas was a Theban flute player and poet in the time of Alexander the Great.—*sane*, "very."—*frigenti*, "coldly received."—*quid efficiatur.* Supply *intelligant*, "may understand what effect is produced," from the subsequent *intelligam.*—*perinde ut*, "just as."—*utrum de his*, i. e., *optaret.*—*quin alterum, nemo=nemo dubitasset quin alterum optaret.*—*alterum=alterutrum*, "one of the two."—*Cotta.* See ch. lv.—*Hortensius.* See ch. lxxxviii.

LI. The same subject continued. Brutus supports Cicero's view by stating that his rival Hortensius thought as highly of him as the people did, and always entrusted him with the peroration when they were acting together.

Tum Brutus. This introduces a speech which, characteristic as it is of Cicero's almost childish vanity, is yet introduced here to show his detractors how Hortensius respected his powers. See Introduction. —*Antimachus*, of Claros, was probably more nearly of an age with Socrates than with Plato. For this reason, and because the same story is told also of Antagoras, there is great doubt whether matters fell out just as Cicero relates them, though there is no doubt that Plato admired Antimachus, who was frequently placed by the ancients next to Homer.—*magnum illud . . . volumen.* This was his epic poem, the Thebais, which must have been great indeed, as in the 24th book the Seven Chiefs had not yet been brought in sight of Thebes.—*non facit*, "does not do something," i. e., "is not moved."—*agitandi*, "of urging him onward."

LII. Sometimes the people admire a second-rate orator when there

is no first-rate orator present, as Scævola was admired in the case of Coponius, until Crassus began to speak.

Modo = *dummodo.*—*Q. Scævolam.* See Lælius i.—*pro M. Coponio.* This lawsuit in which Scævola, the pontifex, was engaged for Coponius the next-of-kin, and Crassus for M'. Curius, was instituted by Coponius on these grounds: A man who supposed his wife to be about to give birth to a son, on his death-bed made a will, leaving his property to this son that he supposed would soon be born; at the same time laying down that, if the son should die before he came of age to make a will of his own, the property should go to M'. Curius. As the wife gave birth to no son, M'. Curius entered on possession as a matter of course; and M. Coponius, who was next-of-kin, brought an action to turn him out, because, as he maintained, Curius had no right to the property, according to the terms of the will, until a son had been born, and died; and as that event had not taken, and now could not take, place, the property ought to revert to him as next-of-kin.—*captiosum,* "dangerous."—*patris sui.* See ch. xxvi.

LIII. But directly Crassus began to speak, the critics and the common people were quite at one in holding him to be the superior orator.

Ut, "when."—*delicato,* "spoiled;" as we say, "a spoiled child."—*captionis,* "of danger."—*centumvirale,* "so important as to require to be brought before the centumviri." See note on *centumviros,* ch. xxxix.—*quæ dixi.* See the latter part of ch. xlix.—*in suam tutelam veniret.* A child whose father had given him a guardian, "came into his own guardianship," i. e., came of age to manage legally for himself, and make his own will, at fourteen.—*æquum bonum,* "what is equitable," as opposed to the strict letter of the law, is generally written *æquum et bonum.* See the end of ch. xxxviii.—*exemplis,* "precedents."

LIV.—The intelligent hearer has, however, one advantage over the non-intelligent. He can tell the causes of success or failure, and discriminate between the merits or demerits of the various styles.

Existimator, "critic."—*judicem* = *judices.*—*circulantem,* "sitting in groups for private conversation."—*mittentem ad horas,* "sending to know what o'clock it is."—*quæsitorem.* See note on *quæstiones perpetuæ,* ch. xxvii.

LV. Cicero reverts to the successors of Julius. The best of these were Cotta, who was an instance of the neat and terse, and Sulpicius, who was an instance of the elevated and copious, style of eloquence.

C. Aurelius Cotta was born B.C. 124. He sided with M. Livius Drusus, and on his death went into exile to avoid being punished, according to the *lex Varia de Majestate,* for trying to gain the franchise for the *Socii.* He returned to Rome B.C. 82, when Sulla was all-powerful, and was consul B.C. 75.—*ad infirmitatem laterum,* "in accordance with the weakness of his lungs."—*contentionem,* "straining of his voice."—*tractando,* "by gently and skilfully moving."—*P. Sulpicius Rufus* was born in the same year as Cotta, and, like him, was a friend of M. Livius Drusus; but though when Drusus went over to the popular side, Sulpicius went with him, there can be no doubt that whatever Drusus's motives were, Sulpicius was bought, to help to obtain the conduct of the Mithridatic war for Marius instead of Sulla. Hence, when Sulla entered the city, and Sulpicius was discovered, he was at once put to death.—*circumfluens,* "flowing about beyond its proper channel; diffuse."

LVI. The writings of Cotta and Sulpicius.

Isocratem. See Cato v.—*Theopompi.* See ch. xvii.—*Ephorus,* like Theopompus, was a historian; but for the reason mentioned in the text, he took on himself the task of writing on the calmer subject of early Greek history, as Theopompus was led, by his more active disposition, to choose the stormier period of later times for the object of his labours.—*P. Canutius* was born B.C. 106; hence Cicero, who was born the same year, calls him *æqualis meus.*—*lege Varia.* See notes on the last chapter, and on ch. lxii.—*L. Ælius Præconinus Stilo* was one of the greatest of the Roman grammarians, the tutor of Varro in grammar and of Cicero in rhetoric. He wrote on the Twelve Tables and the Carmina Saliaria, &c., and also composed orations for others to deliver, though he delivered none himself. He has been supposed by some to have been the author of the *Ad Herennium.*—*et in inventis rebus et in actis,* "both as to inventions (in science, art, &c.), and as to political occurrences."—*Varro noster.* See notes on ch. xv.—*studuit,* i. e., *esse.* —*Q. Metello* *F. Here, the name of the father being lost, we are in doubt which Q. Metellus is meant.—*Q. Cæpioni.* See notes on ch. lxii. —*Q. Pompeius Rufus* was consul, B.C. 88, with Sulla, but during Sulla's absence from Rome was deprived of his consulship, lost his son through the violence of party of his former friend Sulpicius Rufus, and saved his own life only by fleeing to Sulla's camp. Sulla brought him back with him, and after having overcome the Marian party, went off to Asia, leaving Pompeius to maintain order in Italy, and conduct the Social War with the army of Cn. Pompeius Strabo. Strabo, however, managed to get his soldiers to murder Rufus directly he had taken the command of the army. See notes on ch. xlvii.—*eum audire,* "to be his pupil."

LVII. Thus the six best orators of the time were Antonius, Crassus, Philippus, Cæsar, Cotta, and Sulpicius. There were not so many pleaders then, because the custom had not yet arisen of engaging five or six for each side.

Pomponius. See ch. lxii.—*vel,* from its derivation from *velle* = "or, if you *will.*"—*Cotta et Sulpicius expetebantur.* Here, as Jahn remarks, is an evident hiatus of some words defining by whom or under what circumstances Cotta and Sulpicius were sought out as advocates.—*hoc,* i. e., *fiebat.*—*pluribus.* Jahn quotes Ascon. in Scaur., p. 20, "Defenderunt Scaurum sex patroni, cum ad id tempus raro quisquam pluribus quam quattuor uteretur; at post bella civilia ante legem Juliam ad duodenos patronos est perventum."

LVIII. Curio was thought by some the third orator of this period, in consequence of his elevated style and the good Latin he had always heard talked at his own home. The effects of maternal care in education exemplified in the cases of Cornelia and Lælia.

C. Scribonius Curio, son of the Curio mentioned in ch. xxxii., was tribune B.C. 90, served with Sulla in the Mithridatic war, and was present at the siege of Athens. He was consul B.C. 76, and next year obtained the province of Macedonia, where he defeated the Dardanians and Mæsians, and triumphed on his return to Rome, B.C. 71. He was appointed pontifex maximus B.C. 57, and died B.C. 53.—*Corneliæ.* See ch. xxvii.—*Lælia, C. F.* was the daughter of C. Lælius Sapiens, the friend of the younger Africanus (see notes on Cato i.). She married Q. Mucius Scævola the Augur (see notes on Lælius i.), by whom she

had two daughters, called, of course, *Muciæ*, after their father. Of these *Muciæ*, one married L. Licinius Crassus, whose daughter would be called *Liciniæ* from *their* father. One of the Liciniæ married P. Scipio Nasica, the son of the Scipio Nasica mentioned in ch. xxxiv.—*Scipionis*, i. e., *uxorem*. So Virg. Æn. III. 319, "Hectoris Andromache." So too the inscription on the well-known mausoleum at Rome; Cæciliæ Q. Cretici F. Metellæ, Crassi.—*L. Licinius Crassus Scipio*, the son of the Licinia, and P. Scipio Nasica just mentioned, and therefore the grandson of Crassus, the orator, was adopted by his grandfather, because he had no sons to perpetuate his name.—*Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius Scipio*, the brother of *Crassus Scipio*, was adopted by Metellus Pius, the son of Metellus Numidicus. He was made consul B.C. 52, by Pompey, who soon after became his son-in-law. He opposed Cæsar in the civil war, was defeated by him at Thapsus B.C. 46, soon after this treatise was written, and killed himself soon after, when his ship was in danger of being taken by Cæsar's fleet.—*collega meus*. He and Brutus were both pontifices.—*Sapientiæ*. Lælius was called *Sapiens*.—*Q. Metello*, i. e., Q. Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus (see Lælius xxi.), whose daughter Cæcilia married Metellus, Scipio's grandfather.—*P. Scipione*, i. e., Scipio Nasica Serapio. See ch. xxviii.—*Corculum*. See Cato xiv.—*genera*, "kinds of fruit." "Such a tree was called catachana, i. e., καταχήνη." Jahn.

LIX. The remarkable deficiencies of Curio in invention and disposition of the parts of his speech.

Nullum ille poetam noverat. In this respect Lord Brougham compares Curio with Sir John Leach, of whom he says: "Moderately learned in his own profession, beyond it he was one of the most ignorant men that ever appeared at the bar."—Statesmen of the Time of George III., vol. iii. p. 35.—*Jus publicum* is opposed to *jus privatum*, and *jus civile* to *jus gentium*.—*quinque . . . partibus*. See notes on ch. vi.—*clauderet* comes from *claudeo*.—*in cogitando* answers to the first of the five parts, i. e., *inventio*; and *in struendo*, "in the construction of his speech," answers to the second, i. e., *dispositio*.

LX. Curio's deficiencies in delivery and memory.

Agere and *meminisse* answers to *pronuntiatio* and *memoria*.—*C. Julius*. See ch. xlviii.—*C. Sicinnius* was tribune of the plebs B.C. 76.—*tria cum proposuisset*, "when he had divided his subject into three parts."—*Titinia Cottaæ*, i. e., *uxor Cottæ*.—*C. Vibius Pansa* was consul B C. 43 with A. Hirtius, and fell with him before the walls of Mutina.

LXI. Curio's defective memory exhibited itself even in his writings.

Tantamne fuisse oblivionem? This broken kind of construction to express indignation depends upon some such phrase as *credendum est*. So Hor. 1 Sat. ix. 72:—

> "Hunccine solem
> Tam nigrum surrexe mihi."

—*officium*, the respect usually paid to persons of rank and position, such as the attendance at their levees, &c. Jahn quotes Juvenal x. 44.

> "Illinc cornicines, hinc præcedentia longi
> Agminis officia."

LXII. The inferior speakers of the period.

C. Papirius Carbo Arvina, son of the Carbo mentioned in ch. xxvii.

was tribune of the plebs B.C. 90. He was the only man of his family who was an aristocrat; hence Cicero says of him, "præter hunc ... civis e republica Carbonum nemo fuit." He was killed B.C. 82 by L. Junius Brutus Damasippus, who was of the Marian faction.—*Q. Varius Hybrida*, so called from his mother's being a foreigner, when tribune of the plebs, B.C. 90, got passed a *lex de majestate*, ostensibly to punish all who had in any way been busy in promoting the Social War. This law, being really directed against those leading members of the senate, who had at first sided with the reforms of Livius Drusus, was only passed after great opposition. Some of the leading senators (see ch. lv.) were banished under it, and Varius himself was condemned and put to death under it, the year after. *Cn. Pomponius* was tribune with Varius. He was killed in the Marian civil war.—*lateribus*, "lungs."—*L. Fufius* about B.C. 98, accused of malversation *M'. Aquilius*, who, as consul B.C. 101, had been sent against the revolted slaves in Sicily. Aquilius was defended by the orator Antonius, and acquitted in consequence of his successes. He went B.C. 88 to serve against Mithridates, who soon after took him prisoner, and put him to death by pouring melted gold down his throat. *M. Livius Drusus*, the son of the opponent of C. Gracchus, when tribune of the plebs B.C. 91, under the plea of reconciling the plebs to the senate, introduced a number of rash measures, which were much more likely to raise him into prominence than serve any good political purpose. He eventually disappointed, or fell under the suspicion of, both parties, and was murdered by an unknown hand in his own house.—*tuum magnum avunculum*. Brutus's mother was Servilia, the daughter of Q. Servilius Cæpio, who married Livia, the sister of Drusus.—*L. Licinius Lucullus* served under Sulla in the Social and first Mithridatic War.—As consul B.C. 74 with M. Aurelius Cotta, he obtained the management of the second Mithridatic war, which he carried on with success till supplanted by Pompey B.C. 66. His subsequent devotion to luxury and the pleasures of literature is well known. —*M. Junius Brutus* was tribune of the plebs B.C. 83.—*M. Licinius Lucullus*, the brother of the conqueror of Mithridates, as consul B.C. 73, obtained the province of Macedonia for the next year, and triumphed for his successes B.C. 71.—*M. Octavius*, when tribune of the plebs (the year is not known), persuaded them to abrogate the lex Frumentaria of C. Gracchus, and substitute one causing a less drain upon the Treasury. —*Cn. Octavius* was consul B.C. 76.—*M. Catonem patrem*. This is M. Porcius Cato, the father of Cato of Utica.—*Q. Lutatius Catulus*, son of the Catulus mentioned in ch. xxxv., was consul B.C. 78.—*præsidiis reipublicæ*. i. e., "thick and thin supporters of the aristocratic party."—*Q. Servilius Cæpio*, perhaps the son of the Cæpio mentioned ch. xxxv., sided in early life with the senate against Saturninus, and afterwards from hatred, as it was said, to his brother-in-law Livius Drusus, left the side of the senate for that of the equites.—*Cn. Papirius Carbo*, a violent Marian partisan, was consul with Cinna B C, 85, 84, made a bold stand against Sulla, and was finally put to death by Pompey B.C. 82.—*M. Marius Gratidianus*, an adopted son of probably the brother of the great Marius, was brutally murdered by Catiline during the Sullan proscriptions.—*L. Quinctius* was tribune of the plebs B.C. 74. He opposed Sulla's regulation that all the judices should be taken from the senatorial order, but was induced by Lucullus to withdraw his opposition, possibly in consequence of a bribe.—*M. Lollius Palicanus* of Picenum

was tribune of the plebs B.C. 71.—*L. Appuleius Saturninus*, having been superseded in his quæstorship B.C. 104 by the senate, at once entered into alliance with Marius, and turned demagogue. In B.C. 100, his opponent Nonius having been murdered, he was chosen tribune of the plebs, and immediately commenced a series of measures calculated to ingratiate himself with them. While striving to secure the election of Glaucia to the consulship, he and Glaucia murdered C. Memmius, the opposing candidate for the consulship, were proclaimed enemies of the republic, and took refuge in the Capitol. There, being deprived of access to water, they surrendered to Marius, who tried to save them; but the house they were in was stript of its tiles, and they were stoned to death.—*prudentiæ*, "of his legal knowledge."—*C. Servilius Glaucia* was prætor B.C. 100. His struggle for the consulship against Memmius, and its results have just been given.—*si rationem ejus*, &c. As Glaucia was then prætor, he had no right to be a candidate for the consulship till two years had elapsed after his prætorship.—*C. Marius* was consul for the sixth time and *L. Valerius Flaccus* for the first time B.C. 100.—*Hyperbolus*, the lamp-seller, about B.C. 416 tried to get either Alcibiades or Nicias ostracised; but they combined and caused the ostracism to fall on him, a result which, as it is said, so far degraded the institution of ostracism, that it was never practised again.—*Sex. Titius*, who was tribune B.C. 99, while emulating Saturninus, was opposed by the orator Antonius, and condemned for having a statue of Saturninus in his house.

LXIII. The merits of P. Antistius.

Sulpicii. See ch. lv.—*P. Antistius* was father-in-law to Pompey, and therefore put to death by the Marian faction B.C. 82.—*C. Julius Cæsar Strabo Vopiscus.* See notes on ch. xlviii.—*veram causam*, "a just cause."—*Rem*, "the point."—*habitus*, "his bearing."—*profectionem Sullæ*, i. e., B.C. 87.—*reditum*, i. e., B.C. 82.—*Cotta aberat.* See notes on ch. lv.—*et Curio.* See notes on ch. lviii.

LXIV. Sisenna was nearly equal to Antistius, but was quite eclipsed, when Hortensius, then a very young man, made his first appearance. The cotemporaries of Hortensius in his riper years.

L. Cornelius Sisenna was prætor B.C. 78, and died B.C. 67. He wrote a large work on the history of his own country, which is as highly spoken of by Sallust (Jug. xcv.), as by Cicero in this chapter. He also translated the Milesiaca of Aristides, and composed a commentary on Plautus.—*interjectus inter*, &c. Sulpicius was born B.C. 124, and Hortensius B.C. 114. So that Sisenna must have been born between these two dates. *L. Crasso Q. Scævola consulibus*, i. e., B.C. 95.—*L. Æmilius Paullus* and *M. Claudius Marcellus* were consuls B.C. 50.—*Accius* was born B.C. 170 and *Pacuvius* was born at Brundusium B.C. 220. They must therefore have both exhibited together in the year B.C. 140.—*etiam tum.* Here a hiatus occurs in the manuscript, where there must have been some word agreeing with *Antonio.*—*pro Cn. Pompeii bonis.* In the year B.C. 87, just after the death of Pompeius Strabo by lightning (see notes on ch. xlvii), his son Cn. Pompeius Magnus was accused by his own and his father's enemies of possessing an inheritance swelled by the spoils of Asculum. He secured Philippus and Hortensius for his advocates; but feeling unsafe, in the then predominance of the opposing faction, notwithstanding the eloquence of the advocates he had secured, he made sure of his acquittal by promising to marry the daughter of An-

tiotius (see ch. lxiii.), who was to preside as prætor at the trial.—*M. Pisonem, M. Crassum*, &c. See the three following chapters.—*me octo annis minorem.* Cicero was born B.C. 106, eight years after Hortensius. See ch. i.

LXV. Cicero having now come down to his own time, promises Brutus, after having described those of his cotemporaries who are dead, to give a detailed account of the steps by which he attained to his own success in oratory.

inter nostrum tuumque initium dicendi. As Cicero was born B.C. 106, and spoke his first speech as advocate B.C. 81, and Brutus was born B.C. 85, there must have been about twenty-one years, and probably more, between Cicero's appearance as an advocate, and that of Brutus. —*quam quod gradus tuos*, &c. The regular construction after *propero audere de te*, &c., would be *quam de gradibus tuis*, &c.—*processus*, "progress."—*M. Licinius Crassus Dives* was born about B.C. 115. He joined the Sullan faction, and laid the foundation of his enormous wealth, by purchasing at nominal sums the estates of the proscribed. In B.C. 71 he defeated Spartacus with great slaughter. He was consul with Pompey B.C. 70, censor B.C. 65, entered into the triumvirate with Cæsar and Pompey B.C. 60, was consul for the second time B.C. 55, and went the next year on the expedition against the Parthians which ended in the fatal defeat of his army at Carrhæ, and his own death by having melted gold poured down his throat, B.C 53.

LXVI. The oratory of M. Crassus, C. Fimbria, and others, cotemporary with Hortensius and himself.—*A*, "on the side of; as regards."—C. Flavius Fimbria (son of the Fimbria mentioned in ch. xxxiv.) was one of the most cruel of the Marian faction. Having been sent with the consul L. Valerius Flaccus (B.C. 86) to Asia to help him to conduct the war against Mithridates, he managed to kill him, and take the command of the army himself. He defeated the troops of Mithridates several times, and would have taken him, if Lucullus had been willing to assist him with his fleet. In B.C. 84, after having committed the most dreadful cruelties against all the cities that had shown any leanings towards the Sullan faction, he was attacked by Sulla, and, as his troops would not fight against Sulla, was obliged to put an end to himself.—*Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus* was consul B.C. 72, was defeated by Spartacus, B.C. 71, was censor B.C. 70, and legate for Pompey against the Cilician pirates, B.C. 67-66.—*intervallis*, "pauses."—*P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura*, consul B.C. 71, was turned out of the senate for his infamous life next year, by the censor Lentulus Clodianus. He then joined the conspiracy of Catiline (see Cicero, Cat. iii. 4), became prætor again, B.C. 63, to enable him to return into the senate, and treated with the ambassadors of the Allobroges, who disclosed the matter to Cicero. He was then seized, and ultimately strangled in prison.

LXVII. Others of the same period.

M. Pupius Piso Calpurnianus was so celebrated as a Greek scholar and an orator, that Cicero was taken to him by his father to attend his levees. When Consul, however, B.C. 61, he protected Clodius, and otherwise offended Cicero.—*devorandæ*, "to be swallowed," i. e., "endured." —*virginum judicio.* Nothing is known of the occurrence referred to, unless, as Jahn suggests, it is the same as that referred to in the passage from Cicero's third oration against Catiline quoted in

the previous chapter.—*P. Licinius Murena* was killed, B.C. 82, in the struggle between the Marian and Sullan factions. See ch. xc.—*C. Marcius Censorinus*, one of the fiercest of the Marian faction, and the slayer of the consul Octavius (see notes on ch. xlvii.) was defeated by Pompey on his way to relieve the younger Marius at Præneste, and by Sulla afterwards at the Colline gate, B.C. 82. He was then taken and put to death by Sulla.—*L. Turius* is only known from this passage.—*C. Licinius Macer* was accused of malversation, B.C. 66, by Cicero, and finding himself likely to be condemned, put himself to death. He wrote a work in twenty-one books on the history of Rome, in which he is said to have carefully consulted ancient documents. Cicero's cold estimate of him is attributed with great probability, in Smith's Biog. Dict., to his enmity to him.

LXVIII. The same subject.

C. Calpurnius Piso, as consul, B.C. 67, opposed the proposition of Gabinius to invest Pompey with such extraordinary powers for the destruction of the pirates. In B.C. 63 he was accused of malversation in the province he obtained after his consulship, and was defended by Cicero.—*statarius.* See notes on ch. xxx.—*M'. Acilius Glabrio*, son of Mucia, the daughter of the *P. Mucius Scævola* who was consul B.C. 133 (see notes on ch. xxvi.), was consul with Piso B.C. 67, superseded Lucullus in the conduct of the Mithridatic war, and was himself superseded by Pompey.—*L. Manlius Torquatus* was consul B.C. 65. He afterwards sided with Cicero in putting down Catiline.—*æqualis*, because Pompey and he were both born B.C. 106.—*Cn. Pompeius Magnus* assisted Sulla to overcome the Marian faction, triumphed B.C. 81, when only twenty-five years old, was consul for the first time B.C. 70, formed the triumvirate with Cæsar and Crassus, B.C. 60, was defeated in the battle of Pharsalia, B.C. 48, and was murdered in Egypt a few weeks after.—*D. Junius Silanus*, the son of the Silanus mentioned in ch. xxxv, was consul B.C. 62. He married Brutus's mother, Servilia, and so became his step-father (*vitricus*).—*Q. Pompeius Bithynicus* studied oratory with Cicero and *M. Pupius Piso Calpurnianus* in his youth (see ch. xc.), and, accompanying Pompey the Great in his flight to Egypt, was murdered with him there.—*P. Autronius* was elected consul for B.C. 65; but being convicted of bribery, and in consequence not allowed to be consul, he shared in the first conspiracy of Catiline.—*L. Octavius Reatinus* is only known from this passage.—*C. Staienus*, wishing to be taken for a man of aristocratic descent, had adopted himself (*se ipse adoptaverat*) into the noble family of the Ælii Pæti; that is, had quietly assumed the name of Ælius Pætus, which could only have been legally done by his being adopted by a member of the family. His ascent to the highest honours was barred by his being condemned for exciting a mutiny among the troops under his command.

LXIX. The same subject.

C. and *L. Cæpasius.* Nothing more is known of them than what is comprised in this passage.—*oppidano . . . genere dicendi*, "a country-town kind of eloquence."—*vocalem*, "speaker."—*C. Cosconius Calidianus*, is possibly (see Smith's Dict. of Biog.) the Cosconius who distinguished himself in the Social War, and was proconsul B.C. 78, or else the one who was one of the commissioners appointed to carry out the agrarian law of Julius Cæsar, B.C. 59.—*concursatione*, "moving about on the platform from which he spoke."—*Q. Arrius*, who gave the funeral-

feast alluded to in Hor. II. Sat. iii. 86, tried for the consulship B.C. 59, but, owing to Cæsar's opposition, was unsuccessful.—*qui . . secundarum*, "who played second fiddle to M. Crassus." The metaphor is taken from the stage, *secundarum* agreeing with *partium*. So Horace I. Sat. ix, 46, "Magnum adjutorem, posset qui ferre secundas."—*solem*. Jahn quotes Chrysostom de nom. mut. v. p. 851: *οὐχ ὁρᾶτε τοὺς Ὀλυμπιακοὺς ἀθλητὰς εἰς μέσον τοῦ θεάτρου ἑστῶτας ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ μέσῃ, καθάπερ ἐν καμίνῳ, τῷ σκάμματι καὶ γυμνῷ τῷ σώματι τὴν ἀκτῖνα δεχομένους;*—*illius judicialis anni*, i. e. B.C. 52, when the lex Pompeia judiciaria and other laws, affecting trials, were passed by Pompey. See notes, ch. lxx. —*æqualem*, i.e., as to age.

LXX. The same subject.

T. Manlius Torquatus T. F. is mentioned by Cicero as bearing witness for Plancius (pro Planc. xi.)—*Molon*, or Apollonius, of Alabanda, in Caria, taught rhetoric first in Rhodes, and afterwards at Rome, at both of which places Cicero was his pupil. See chs. lxxxix and xc.—*sublato ambitu*. This was supposed to have been effected by the severity of the lex Pompeia de Ambitu, passed B.C. 52; but that it eventually failed is proved by subsequent enactments to the same end.—*M. Pontidius* is only known by this passage.—*municeps noster*, i.e. of Arpinum.—*M. Valerius Messalla Niger*, as consul B.C. 61, assisted in the prosecution of *Clodius*.—*Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer*, one of the most vigorous upholders of the aristocratic party, when consul B.C. 60, opposed all Pompey's projects with such zeal, but with such bad policy, that he caused Pompey to form a junction with Cæsar. He also opposed Clodius, though he was married to his sister Clodia, by whom he was supposed to have been poisoned the next year.—*Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos*, the brother of Celer, was legate of Pompey B.C. 67, in the war against the pirates. He continued ever after to be a follower of Pompey, and attacked or became reconciled to Cicero according to his patron's wishes. He was consul B.C. 57.—*Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus* was consul B.C. 56.—*C. Memmius Gemellus*, the son of the Lucius Memmius mentioned in ch. xxxvi, was tribune of the plebs B.C. 66, and condemned for bribery B.C. 54. His literary tastes, however, were such that Lucretius dedicated his great poem to him.

LXXI. Brutus, wishing to hear Cicero's opinion about two living orators, Marcellus and Cæsar, is made to give his own opinion about Marcellus, and compares him in most laudatory terms with Cicero.

M. Claudius Marcellus, as consul B.C. 51, and throughout his career, showed himself exceedingly hostile to Cæsar and friendly to Pompey. After the battle of Pharsalia he retired to Mitylene, and remained there unmolested till Cæsar intimated to him his entire forgiveness. He, however, was murdered at Athens, on his way home, by one of his own suite.—*hic . . . abfuit*. Cæsar was absent in his province of Gaul from B.C. 58, till the breaking out of the civil war.—*similem tui*. This whole chapter is a remarkable instance of self-praise.—*quod liceat*, "as far as is allowable." So *quod senserim* in Lælius, ch. xxvii.—*Cratippus* was a peripatetic philosopher of Mitylene, who taught Cicero himself and his son Marcus, and Marcellus. He fled with Pompey from Pharsalia, and tried, with the success usual in such cases, to comfort him with arguments drawn from philosophy.

LXXII. Atticus, jocularly reproving Cicero for refusing to speak of

the living, gives his own opinion about Cæsar's powers as a speaker, and quotes his high opinion of Cicero's merits.

Et ille, i.e. *Brutus*, as may be seen by *inquit Atticus* below.—*C. Julius Cæsar* was born B.C. 100, was consul B.C. 59, was engaged in Transalpine Gaul B.C. 58—50, conquered Pompey B.C. 48, and was murdered by Brutus and others B.C. 44, two years after the present treatise was written.—*ut dudum . . . audiebamus*, i.e. in ch. lviii.—*id quoque . . . fuisse*. Cæsar's mother, Aurelia, took very great pains with his education, and was always greatly respected and loved by him. See Tacit. Or. xxviii. and Plut. in Cæs. ix.—*litteris*, "literary studies."—*hunc*, i.e. *Cæsarem*.—*pro relicto est habendum*, "must be looked on as a settled thing."

LXXIII. Brutus congratulates Cicero on such high praise, and Cicero declares that to be an orator is greater than to be a mediocre general.

Tuæ supplicationi, i. e., the supplicatio granted to Cicero for his detection of the conspiracy of Catiline.—*non* is placed where it is for the sake of emphasis.—*Ligurum*. The names of conquerors of the Ligurians constantly recur in the triumphal Fasti from B.C. 237 to B.C. 117, though with how little success, this very frequency, and the subsequent proceedings against them in the time of Augustus, sufficiently denote. —*acclametis*, "cry out against me."—*pro M'. Curio dictionem*. See ch. liii.—*castellanos triumphos*. Crassus the orator, when consul B.C. 95, after trying in vain to beat up an enemy, to get materials for a triumph, stormed a small fort or two belonging to some mountain tribes, and endeavoured to get a triumph allowed him for his successes over them. —*Minervæ signum*. This was the celebrated chryselephantine statue of Minerva in the Parthenon, the feet, arms, and face of the statue being of ivory, the rest of the body of wood, and the garments of beaten gold.

LXXIV. Atticus proceeds with his opinion as to Cæsar's distinctive merits.

Innocentiæ depends on *laus*.—*Cæcilius Statius*. See notes on Cato vii. —*Pacuvius*. See notes on ch. lxiv.—*sed* takes up the chain of thought, that had been partially interrupted by the parenthesis.—*nec eos aliqua*, &c. We might have expected *quosque nulla*, &c.; but the logical pronoun is not unfrequently substituted for the relative pronoun in a subordinate sentence, forming part of a relative clause. See Madvig, § 323, *b*.—*vetustas*, "the course of time," not "antiquity;" just as it is said that we moderns, and not our fathers, are the true ancients.—*ratio* and *consuetudo*, answer to the Greek ἀναλογία and ἀνωμαλία, which latter often is the result of συνήθεια. Jahn. Hence Cæsar's work *de analogia* is also called *de ratione loquendi*.—*Flamininum*. See notes on ch. xxviii. —*Latine*, i. e. *scire*, understood from *nesciebat*.—*Catulus*. See ch. xxxv. —*L. Aurelius Cotta* was tribune of the plebs B.C. 95. See the De Orat. iii. 12, 46. "Cotta, cujus tu illa lata nonnunquam imitaris, ut I litteram tollas, et E plenissimum dicas, non mihi oratores antiquos, sed messores videtur imitari."—*Sisenna*. See ch. lxiv.—*C. Rusius* is not mentioned elsewhere. *C. Hirtuleius* was perhaps the one who was quæstor, B.C. 86, and afterwards, B.C. 79, a favourite legate of Sertorius in Spain.

LXXV. The same subject. Cicero praises the unapproachable grace and simplicity of his writings.

sputatilica=abominanda, ἀποπτυστα, is a word formed as fancifully as

some such word as "spit-at-able" would be in English.—*communibus*, i. e., *laudibus*, is opposed to *præcipua* laus, "special praise." —*commentarios*, i. e. *De Bello Gallico*.—*detracta* is attracted to agree with *veste*, instead of agreeing with its proper subject *ornatu*.—*parata*, i. e., "materials for history."— *Calamistris*. So Tacitus (Or. xxvi), speaks of "calamistros Mæcenatis."

LXXVI. Cicero reverts to those orators of his own and Hortensius's time who are already dead.

C. Sicinius is not mentioned elsewhere.—*Q. Pompeii*. See notes on ch. xxv.—*Hermagoras*, a rhetorican of the Rhodian school, while neglecting rhetorical ornamentation, "bestowed great attention on invention (*inventio*), and made a peculiar division of the parts of an oration, which differed from that adopted by other rhetoricians." Smith's Dict. of Anc. Biog.—*C. Visellius Varro* was the son of one of the best lawyers of the day, C. Visellius Varro Aculeo, by Helvia, Cicero's mother's sister. He was tribune of the soldiers B.C. 79, and aided in recalling Cicero from banishment.—*L. Manlius Torquatus*, the son of the Torquatus mentioned in ch. lxviii., was very intimate with Cicero throughout his career. He opposed Cæsar steadily, and was killed while trying to escape from Africa to Spain later in the year in which this dialogue was written.—*C. Valerius Triarius* was killed about the same time as Torquatus, leaving Cicero guardian of his children.

LXXVII. The same subject.

M. Calpurnius Bibulus was consul with Cæsar B.C. 59, and vainly strove to oppose all his measures. In the Civil Wars he declared for Pompey, and commanded the fleet which was to prevent Cæsar from crossing over to Greece. He died B.C. 48, while still over the fleet.—*Appius Claudius Pulcher*, consul B.C. 54, was Cicero's predecessor in the province of Cilicia, was accused, on his return, of malversation, and acquitted by the exertions of Hortensius and Brutus, and the influence of Pompey. He was killed in the battle of Pharsalia.—*collega meus*. He and Cicero belonged to the college of augurs.—*L. Domitius Ahenobarbus* was consul B C. 54 with Claudius and died in the same manner. *P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther*, when consul B.C. 57, was the chief agent in procuring Cicero's return from banishment. He joined Pompey in the Civil War, and followed Pompey to Egypt, without however sharing his fate there. *L Cornelius Lentulus Crus*, the accuser of Clodius for violating the mysteries of the *Bona Dea* B.C. 61, and consul B.C. 49, joined Pompey's party, when the Civil War broke out, fled with him to Egypt, after the defeat of Pharsalia, and was put to death there.—*horrida*, "rough." — *T. Postumius* was possibly the person appointed by the senate to the province of Sicily B.C. 49. See Smith's Dict. of Anc. Biog.—*M. Servilius Geminus* was tribune of the plebs B.C. 60, and was accused by Metellus Celer of malversation.

LXXVIII. Cicero proceeds with the same subject, after again replying to Atticus's charge, that he is giving the name of every one who ever ventured to stand up to speak at all.

ne hos quidem, &c. is governed by some such word as *omittam*, understood from the general sense of the previous sentence.—*P. Cominius* of Spoletium (now Spoleto) in Umbria, accused C. Cornelius of majestas B.C. 66, when Cicero defended him. Cominius's speech is said by Asconius the commentator to have been worth reading on its own account, as well as for the light it threw on Cicero's speech.—*T. Accius* of Pisaurum

(now Pesaro), in Umbria accused Cluentius B.C. 66.—*Hermagoræ*. See notes on ch. lxxvi.—*majore quam Pisonem* would be the regular construction, as Jahn observes; but Piso's name is introduced afterwards in a different case with a change of construction.—*C. Calpurnius Piso Frugi* married Cicero's daughter Tullia, B.C. 63. He did all he could to procure his father-in-law's recall from banishment, but died a few months before his return, B.C. 57.—*processus*, "progress."

LXXIX. The styles of M. Cælius and M. Calidius.

M. Cælius Rufus, born B.C. 82, was introduced by his father to Cicero and Crassus, that he might attend their levees. Though intimate with Cicero, he was friendly with Catiline, though without joining in his conspiracy. He was tribune of the plebs B.C. 52, and sided with Cicero in striving to obtain the acquittal of Milo. While Cicero was in Cilicia (B.C. 50), he was curule ædile, and constantly corresponded with Cicero (See Ad. Fam. ii. 8—16 and viii.), on all the news of the day, but when the Civil War broke out, he determined to join Cæsar, seeing that his side was the stronger, and hoping through the proscription, that he expected would follow Cæsar's victory, to get rid of the enormous debts he had incurred. In consequence of his adherence to Cæsar's party he was made prætor B.C. 48; but soon discovering that Cæsar did not contemplate either a proscription or any remission of debts, he proposed various wild laws for the purpose of freeing himself from his obligations, was turned out of his office, and soon after lost his life before Thurii, while endeavouring to excite a commotion in favour of Pompey.—*quam ejus actionem*. The asterisk before these words points to an hiatus, where once must have stood a sentence describing the delivery (*actio*) of Cælius, to which reference is made.—*accusationes ejus*. He accused C. Antonius, consul with Cicero B.C. 63, of participation in Catiline's conspiracy, and obtained his condemnation though he was defended by Cicero. He also accused L. Sempronius Atratinus of bribery, and Q. Pompeius Rufus of *vis*.—*reipublicæ*, "for the republic."—*defensiones*. He was accused of *vis* by the son of the L. Sempronius Atratinus, whom he himself was accusing of bribery, and defended himself, at the same time that he obtained the advocacy of Cicero and Crassus.—*M. Calidius*, as prætor B.C. 57, aided in procuring Cicero's return from banishment. He supported Milo B.C. 52, and B.C. 49 showed himself a partisan of Cæsar's, by proposing that Pompey should go to his province in Spain to prevent the outbreak of civil war. Cæsar rewarded him by giving him the province of Gallia Togata, and he died soon after at Placentia B.C. 48.—*ut ait Lucilius*. The verses of Lucilius referred to are

> Quam lepide λέξεις compostæ, ut tesserulæ omnes
> Arte, pavimento atque emblemate vermiculato.

For the intermixture of Greek words in Lucilius's verses see Hor. I. Sat. x. 20, and my note thereon.—*σχήματα*. See notes on ch. xxxvii.—*qua de re agitur*. "the point in question; the point to be proved."

LXXX. Calidius's oratory still further characterised.

paullo ante dictum. See ch. xlix.—*Q. Gallio*. Calidius accused Gallius of bribery B.C. 64.

LXXXI. C. Scribonius Curio and P. Licinius Crassus compared.

C. Scribonius Curio, the son of the Curio mentioned in ch. lviii., was tribune of the plebs B.C. 50. Though his family sided with Pompey,

Cæsar bought him over by paying his enormous debts. He then began very cleverly to intrigue for Cæsar against Pompey, by putting on an appearance of impartiality, and demanding that Pompey should be made to do all that was asked of Cæsar. When the Civil War broke out, he fled to Cæsar, was made proprætor of Sicily, from whence he expelled Cato, went over to Africa to attack Juba and Varus, and was killed by the former before Utica. Seven of Cicero's letters to him (Ad Fam. ii. 1—7), are still preserved.—*studium*, "zeal."—*P. Licinius Crassus*, son of the triumvir Crassus (see notes on ch. lxv.), was one of Cæsar's legates in Gaul, and remained with him there till his father's second consulship B.C. 55. The next year he accompanied his father to Syria, and died fighting bravely on the field of Carrhæ, though an opportunity of escape presented itself. Why Cicero gives us such a harsh picture of him it is difficult to understand, as he tried to prevent Cæsar's banishment, showed a sincere attachment to him throughout his life, and the very last time he was in Rome endeavoured to reconcile him and his father.—*imperatori*, i. e., Cæsar.—*ætatem certam*, because there was a fixed age before which no one could have the *imperium*; *sortem incertam*, because even when the *imperium* was obtained, the *lot* had to decide the province that was to fall to each particular person, and the allotted province might present no chance of military distinction.

LXXXII. The oratory and oratorical position of Calvus. What it is to be an Attic orator.

C. Licinius Macer Calvus, son of the Licinius Macer mentioned in ch. lxvii., was born B.C. 82. His oration against Vatinius, who was defended by Cicero, was so powerful, that Vatinius could not be restrained from jumping up and begging the *judices* not to condemn him merely because his accuser was eloquent. Calvus was upheld by many, especially by Cicero's enemies, as equal to Cicero in oratory; but the judgment expressed by Cicero in the text is confirmed by so many writers, that there is no doubt of its justice. He was also a poet of the school of Catullus, with whom he was intimate; and his love poems and satirical epigrams were highly admired, as may be seen from Horace's well-known line (1 Sat. x. 19.)

"Nil præter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum."

For the reason why Cicero dwells so long on the subject of his oratory see Introduction.—*sanguinem deperdebat.* See Tacit. Or. xviii., "legistis utique et Calvi et Bruti ad Ciceronem missas epistolas, ex quibus facile est deprehendere Calvum quidem Ciceroni visum exsanguem et attritum, rursus Ciceronem a Calvo male audisse, tanquam solutum et enervem."—*religione*, "scrupulosity."—*devorabatur*, "was bolted; swallowed whole, so as not to be tasted," i. e. "was not appreciated."—*alios* Among these very possibly was Brutus. See Introduction.—*duntaxat* = *dum taxat*, "provided one estimates it properly," "so far."—*Demetrius Phalereus.* See notes on ch. ix.

LXXXIII. The nature of Attic oratory further investigated.

Charisius lived in the time of Demosthenes.—*multarum orationum* is the gen. of quality.—*Lysiam.* See ch. ix.—*Demochares*, the nephew of Demosthenes, carried out his uncle's views after his death with great firmness and boldness. He is known to have survived the year B.C. 280.—*Hegesias* of Magnesia is said to have been the founder of the

Asiatic style of writing (see notes on ch. xiii.) He himself however supposed that he belonged to the school of Charisius.—*L. Opimius* was consul B.C. 121. Of the wine made in his consulship Pliny (xiv. 4, 6), thus speaks: "Durantque adhuc vina ducentis fere annis, jam in speciem redacta mellis asperi; etenim hæc natura vinis in vetustate est, nec potari per se queant, pervincive aqua, usque in amaritudinem carie indomita."—*L. Anicius Gallus* was consul B.C. 160.—*hæ notæ*, "these brands," as we should say.—*Notæ* = the letters on the *amphora*, telling the age and quality of the wine within.—*dolio.* As the new wine was poured into large jars to ferment, before it was poured into *amphoræ*, and sealed up, *de dolio haurire*, "to draw from the jar" = "to drink new wine."—*quandam ætatem*, "a *certain* age."—*lacu*, "the wine-vat."—*fervidam orationem*, "the fermenting style of oratory," i. e. the Asiatic. On the other hand those who, like Calvus and others, affected to follow Thucydides, fell into the opposite fault, and became as unacceptable to ordinary hearers, as wine that has been kept too long is to drinkers with ordinary palates. See Introduction.

LXXXIV. The same subject.

At, "But, you will say," introduces the remark of an objector.—*Isti . . . nostri.* "No doubt our fine Atticising friends."—*corona*, "the ring of people around them."—*advocatis*, "their very supporters in the cause."—*ad stantem judicem*, i. e. to the people assembled in the Comitium for a public trial (*judicium publicum*). These of course would have to stand, whereas the *judices* in a private trial always sat.—*subsellia*, here = *judicium publicum.* "In judiciis *subsellia* sunt sedes judicum et patronorum utriusque partis . . . Ceterum in *judiciis publicis* videntur etiam fuisse subsellia auditorum, qui neque judices essent, neque advocati; certe subsellia patronorum et judicum ita magna, ut etiam alii honestiores homines in iis locum haberent." Ernesti.—*scribæ*, "the clerks." "Scribæ sorte distribuebantur inter magistratus."—*Roscium*, i. e. "a consummate actor." as we should say "a Macready," or "a Kean." Roscius was a friend of Cicero's, and the greatest comic actor in Rome. Horace (II. Ep. I. 82), calls him "*doctus*," skilled in his profession.

LXXXV. Atticus blames Cicero for having, in a grave historical discourse, given way to irony in his extravagant praise of the older Roman orators.

Sane quidem i. e. *redeamus.* "Let us do so by all means." So lower down *tu vero*, "pray do."—*Æschines*, the son of a sausage-seller, was one of Socrates' most favoured pupils, and, like Plato and Xenophon, wrote Socratic dialogues, which however now are lost.—*Protagoras*, &c. See ch. viii.—*Lysiæ comparabas.* See ch. xvi.—*asseveramus*, "we are talking seriously." — *religio.* "scrupulousness." — *ut temporibus illis*, "considering the times he lived in."—*formam*, "the outline, rough sketch."—*laudibus*, "what deserves praise; excellences."—*Philisto.* See ch. xvii.

LXXXVI. Atticus continues the same subject, and then complains that Cicero has introduced not only all the orators but also all who ever dared to speak in public at all.

Galbam. See chs. xxi. xxiii.—*Lepidi.* See ch. xxv.—*Africano, Lælio.* See ch. xxi.—*ita sit abjecta*, "would be so, &c.," being a present perfect, is a rare tense, as Jahn remarks, to follow an imperative mood. A pres. or past imp. would be more usual. —*Carbonem.* See ch. xxvii.—*Gracchis.* See

chs. xxvii and xxxiii.—*Crassum.* See ch. xxxviii.—*Antonium.* See ch. xxxvii. *Polycleti.* See ch. xviii. The *Doryphorus* of Polycletus was one of the most famous statues of antiquity.—*Lysippus* flourished as a statuary in the time of Alexander, and was the only one allowed to make a statue of him. See Hor. ii. Ep. i. 240.—*suasionem . . . tibi magistram fuisse.* See ch. xliv.—*Cotta, Sulpicio.* See chs. lv. and lvi.—*Cælio.* See ch. lxxix.

LXXXVII. Cicero defends himself from the charges brought against him.

pepulisti is equivalent to *commovisti* in the next clause.—*volvendi,* "to be unrolled," the books of the ancients being rolls of parchment.—*lineamentis,* "outlines."—*in historia sua C. Fannius.* See notes on the Lælius, ch. i.—*vero* i. e. *explicabo.*—*Cumano* i. e. *praedio,* "my villa at Cumæ." Both Cicero and Brutus had villas at both Cumæ and Tusculum.

LXXXVIII. Hortensius's career, and the style of his oratory.

Hortensius. See notes on ch. i.—*admodum adolescens.* He began to speak in the forum B.C. 95, when nineteen years of age. See ch. lxiv.—*Cottæ et Sulpicii.* See ch. lv. sqq.—*Crasso et Antonio.* See chs. xxxvii. and xxxviii.—*Philippo.* See ch. xlvii.—*Julio.* See ch. xlviii.—*nullo referente.* Jahn quotes, as a proof that advocates often had some one at hand to remind them of matters of fact, "Canephoræ ipsæ vocabantur, sed earum artificem—quem? quemnam?—recte admones—Polycletum esse dicebant." Verres iv. 3, 5.—*bello* i. e. the Social or Marsic war.

LXXXIX. The studies and oratorical careers of Hortensius and Cicero.

Primo anno, i. e., B.C. 90.—*legatus,* i. e., to Q. Pompeius Rufus.—*lege Varia.* See notes on ch. lxii.—*L. Memmius.* See notes on ch. xxxvi. *Q. Pompeius Rufus.* See notes on ch. lvi.—*Curio.* See notes on ch. lviii.—*Q. Metellus Celer* is supposed by Manutius (see Smith's Biog. Dict. art. Metellus, 20) to have adopted the Q. Metellus Celer mentioned in chap. lxx.—*Q. Varius, C. Carbo, Cn. Pomponius.* See notes on ch. lxii.—*expulsus,* i. e., through a condemnation under the lex Varia.—*consequente anno,* i. e., B.C. 89.—*Q. Scævolæ.* See what Cicero says (Læl. i.) of his father's introducing him to Scævola for the purpose of attending his levees.—*proximus,* i. e., B.C. 88.—*Philo,* of Larissa, was a pupil of Clitomachus of the New Academy.—*sublata.* See note on *bello* in the last chapter.—*proximo,* i. e., B.C. 87.—*Catulus.* See notes on ch. xxxv.—*Moloni Rhodio.* See notes on ch. lxx.

XC. The same subject.

Spatio. See notes on Lælius xii.—*triennium,* i. e., B.C. 86-84.—*aberat Crassus,* i. e., the Triumvir. See ch. lxiii. He had escaped to Spain from the Marian persecution.—*Lentuli duo.* See ch. lxvi.—*primas,* i. e., *partes.* See notes on ch. lxix.—*Antistius.* See ch. lxiii.—*Piso.* See ch. lxvii.—*Diodotus* the stoic lived in Cicero's house from the time he began to teach him till his death B.C. 59. He left Cicero his whole fortune.—*declamitare,* originally meaning "to speak with violence, to bluster," had come gradually in Cicero's time to mean "to declaim."—*Q. Pompeio.* See ch. lxviii.—*Tumultus interim,* i. e., B.C. 83, 82, when Sulla, returning from the east, renewed the civil war with the Marian faction, and at last got himself made dictator, and proscribed his opponents.—*Scævola* (see Læl. i.) was assassinated by Fimbria.—*C. Carbo*

(see ch. lxii) was murdered by Brutus Damasippus.—*Antistius* was also murdered by Damasippus.—*constituta*, i. e., by the leges Sullanæ, which, according to a strong aristocrat like Cicero, would seem to approximate towards perfection.—*sublati*, i. e., by death in the Sullan and Marian struggles.—*de Rhodiorum præmiis.* The Rhodians sent Molon to ask for compensation for the losses they had sustained for their fidelity to the Romans during the Mithridatic war.—*Sex. Roscius* was accused of the murder of his father, and defended by Cicero B.C. 80. Cicero exerted himself to the utmost for him, and obtained his acquittal, though by doing so he offended Chrysogonus, the favourite freedman of Sulla, and ran the risk of offending Sulla himself.

XCI. The same subject.

Cum venissem Athenas. This was B.C. 79.—*Antiochus* of Ascalon was an Academic philosopher.—*Demetrius* the Syrian is not mentioned elsewhere.—*cum summis quidem oratoribus.* The asterisk before these words points to an omission of some words relating the manner of his connection with the philosophers in question, because it is not probable that he travelled with them.—*Menippus* was of Stratonice in Caria.—*Dionysius* of Magnesia in Lydia, *Æschylus* of Cnidus in Caria, and *Xenocles* of Adramyttium in Mysia, were all rhetoricians.—*Rhodum.* See notes on ch. xiii.—*veris causis*, as opposed to the fictitious causes which were set by masters of rhetoric to their pupils for the purposes of declamation.—*nimis redundantes nos.* This was the charge brought against Cicero even in his old age by his opponents. See Introduction.

XCII. The same subject.

M. Canuleius is not mentioned elsewhere.—*Cn. Cornelius Dolabella*, consul B.C. 81, triumphed on his return from his province of Thrace. He was however accused of embezzlement by Cæsar, but, being defended by Cotta and Hortensius, was acquitted.—*agentem*, "full of action, vigorous."—*Unum annum*, B.C. 76.—*Siciliensis annus.* He obtained the quæstorship for the year B.C. 75, and the lot decided that his quæstorship should be passed in Sicily under the proprætor Sex. Peducæus.—*patrocinio Siciliensi.* This refers to the accusation of Verres undertaken by Cicero B.C. 70, and carried to a successful termination in spite of all the efforts and the enormous interest of Verres and the aristocratic party.

XCIII. The same subject.

Spatio, i. e., *temporis.*—*prætor primus*, i. e., "first on the list, having the highest number of votes."—*nihil de me dicam.* This is easy to say, after having said so much about himself.—*prudentiam*, "knowledge," especially "legal knowledge."—*incluso*, "trapped."

XCIV. The same subject.

Anno meo, i. e., "in the first year in which I was eligible." According to the *lex Villia annalis* a man could not be elected consul till he was forty-three, which was just Cicero's age when he was elected consul B.C. 63. Hence, the man who was elected consul in the first year in which he could be legally elected was said to be made consul "in his year." The same was said of an ædile when elected in his thirty-sixth year.—*duodecim annos*, i. e., for the whole time from Cicero's consulship till Hortensius's death. See notes on ch. i.—*lege Pompeia.* The *lex Pompeia de ambitu* for the speedier decision of trials *de ambitu*, ordered that the plaintiff should not have more than two hours allowed him for the prosecution, nor the defendant more than three hours for the

defence.—*hunc cursum*, i. e., as the next sentence informs us, the period stretching from ten years before B.C. 85, the period of Brutus's birth, to the year B.C. 50.—*Socerum tuum Appium.* See chs. lxiv and lxxvii.

XCV. The reasons why Hortensius was less admired as an orator in his old age.

Asiaticum. See notes on ch. xiii.—*Timæus.* See ch. xvi.—*Hierocles* of Alabanda in Caria, and his brother *Menecles*, the master of Molon, were both celebrated for their Asiatic style of oratory.—*Æschylus.* See ch. xci.—*Æschines*, of Miletus, was banished for declaiming too boldly against Pompey.—*vibrans*, "flashing."

XCVI. Hortensius's good fortune in dying before the overthrow of the republic. Cicero says that he and Brutus are left sole guardians of forensic eloquence, and must therefore watch over her, and guard her from corruption. He regrets that he has lived to witness the present evils, and thanks Brutus for the encouragement he has received from his letters.

M. Valerius Messalla, son of the Messalla mentioned in ch. lxx., procured his election to the consulship, B.C. 53, by gross bribery, for which he was brought to trial by Q. Pompeius Rufus; but through the exertions of his uncle Hortensius who defended him, and of the aristocratic party who wished to screen him, because he had stood against and defeated Clodius, he escaped direct condemnation.—*a Crasso consule*, &c., i. e., B.C. 95.—*Paulum*, &c., i. e., B.C. 50.—*a Sulla dictatore*, i. e., B.C. 81.—*tueamur ut adultam virginem*, &c. The whole passage resembles in form the simile running through Hor. 1 Ep. xx.

XCVII. Cicero regrets the evils of the republic, not so much for himself, now old and worn out, as because it puts an almost insuperable bar in the way of the youthful genius of Brutus. He urges him notwithstanding to persevere, and be content with no excellence or position short of the highest.

Vehentem is used in a deponent sense instead of *vectam*, because of its having an imperfect meaning.—*Tibi favemus*, &c. For the reasons why Cicero addressed this treatise to Brutus, and speaks so highly of his power of speaking, and exhibits such a desire to convert him to his own views of what oratory should be, see the Introduction.—*duorum generum.* Brutus was descended from the Junia gens on the father's side, and from the Servilia gens on the mother's.—*graviorum artium*, i. e., "philosophical studies."—*urbe ea*, i. e., "Athens."—*Pammenes* was a great admirer of Demosthenes, and was therefore a follower of the Attic school of oratory. Hence Cicero reminds Brutus, who had a leaning to the pre-Demosthenic school, of his having studied under him.—*Aristus*, the academic philosopher, was a brother of Antiochus of Ascalon, mentioned in ch. xci.—*futuri sumus* is put from politeness for *futurus es*. —*Nihil dico amplius*, i. e., "I will not allude to myself," a form of speech often used by Cicero when he is alluding pretty strongly to himself.— *magis opportunorum* * * The manuscript here ends suddenly in the middle of a sentence, the last few words of which are probably corrupt.

PRINTED [...] DON.